

THE  
**DUBLIN REVIEW.**

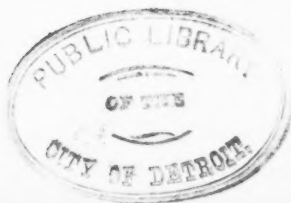
VOL. XXXVI.

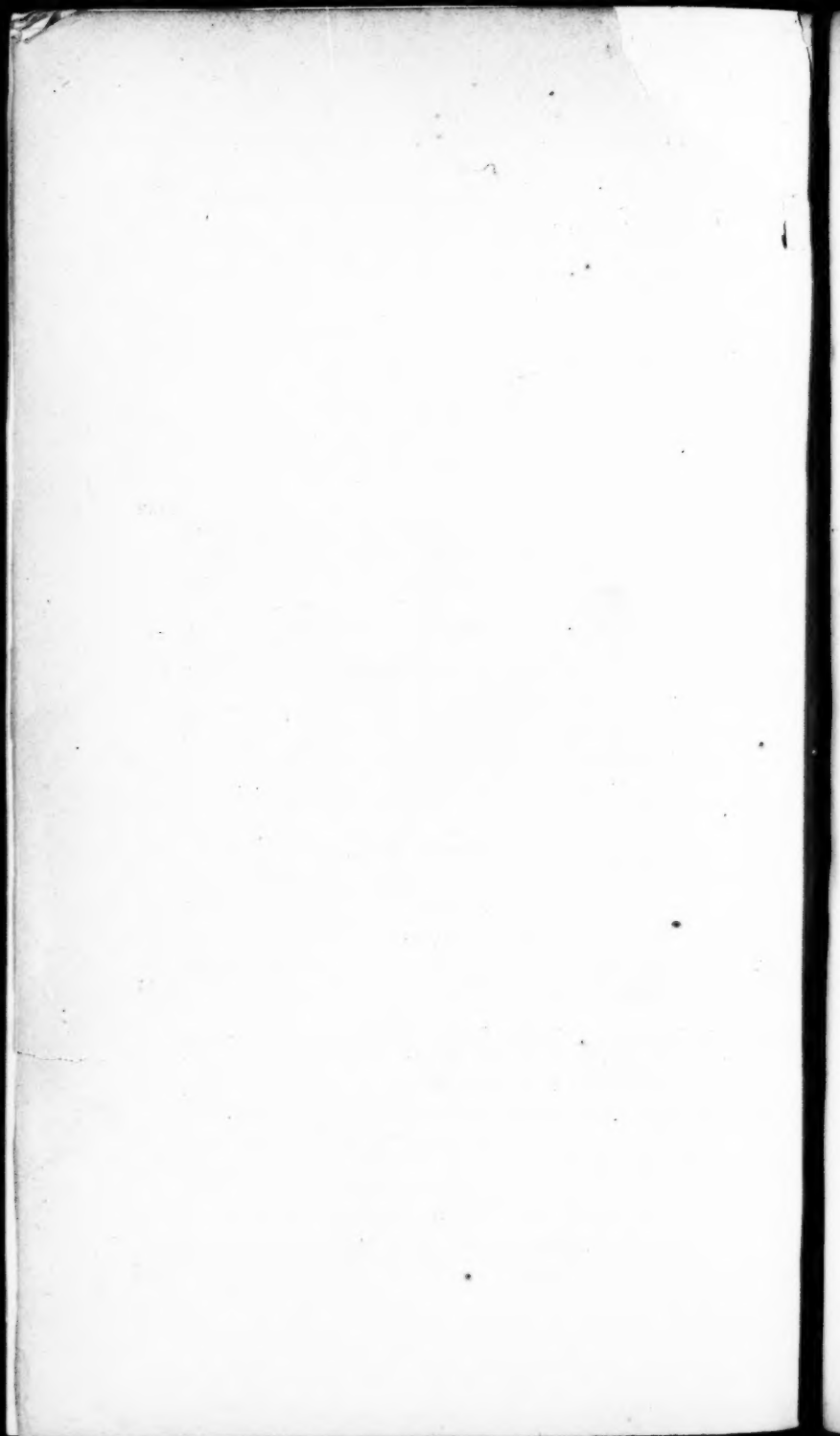
PUBLISHED IN  
*MARCH AND JULY, 1854.*



LONDON:  
THOMAS RICHARDSON AND SON,  
172, FLEET STREET; 9, CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN; AND DERBY.  
MARSH & BEATTIE, EDINBURGH—HUGH MARGEY, GLASGOW.  
NEW YORK: EDWARD DUNIGAN AND BROTHER, 151, FULTON STREET.  
PARIS: 9, RUE DU COQ, NEAR THE LOUVRE, STASSIN AND XAVIER.

1854.







## CONTENTS OF No. LXXI.

ART.	PAGE
I.—The Grounds of Faith. A Series of Four Lectures, by the REV. H. E. MANNING. London: Burns and Lambert, 1852.   ...   ...   ...   ...	1
II.—1. Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the End of the Thirteenth Century. By T. HUDSON TURNER. Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1851.	
2. Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, from Edward I. to Richard III. By the Editor of the "Glossary of Architecture." Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1853.	
3. The National Miscellany, No. VI., Oct. 1853. Oxford: J. H. Parker.   -   -   -   -   -	20
III.—The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A. M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Second Edition. London: J. and C. Mozley, 1853.   -   -   -   -   -   -	
	45
IV.—1. Lectures on Turkey. By the VERY REV. J. H. NEWMAN, D. D. Dublin: Duffy.	
2. Downfall of Turkey. By the REV. G. S. FABER. London.	
3. The Russ, the Greek, and the Turk. London: Freeman.	
4. The Greek and the Turk. By E. CROWE. London: R. Bentley.	
5. The Cross, v. The Crescent: the Religious Aspect of the Eastern Question. London: T. Harrison.	
6. The Czar and the Sultan. London: Vizetelly.	
7. St Petersburg. By J. G. KOHN. London: Simms and McIntyre.	

# CONTENTS.

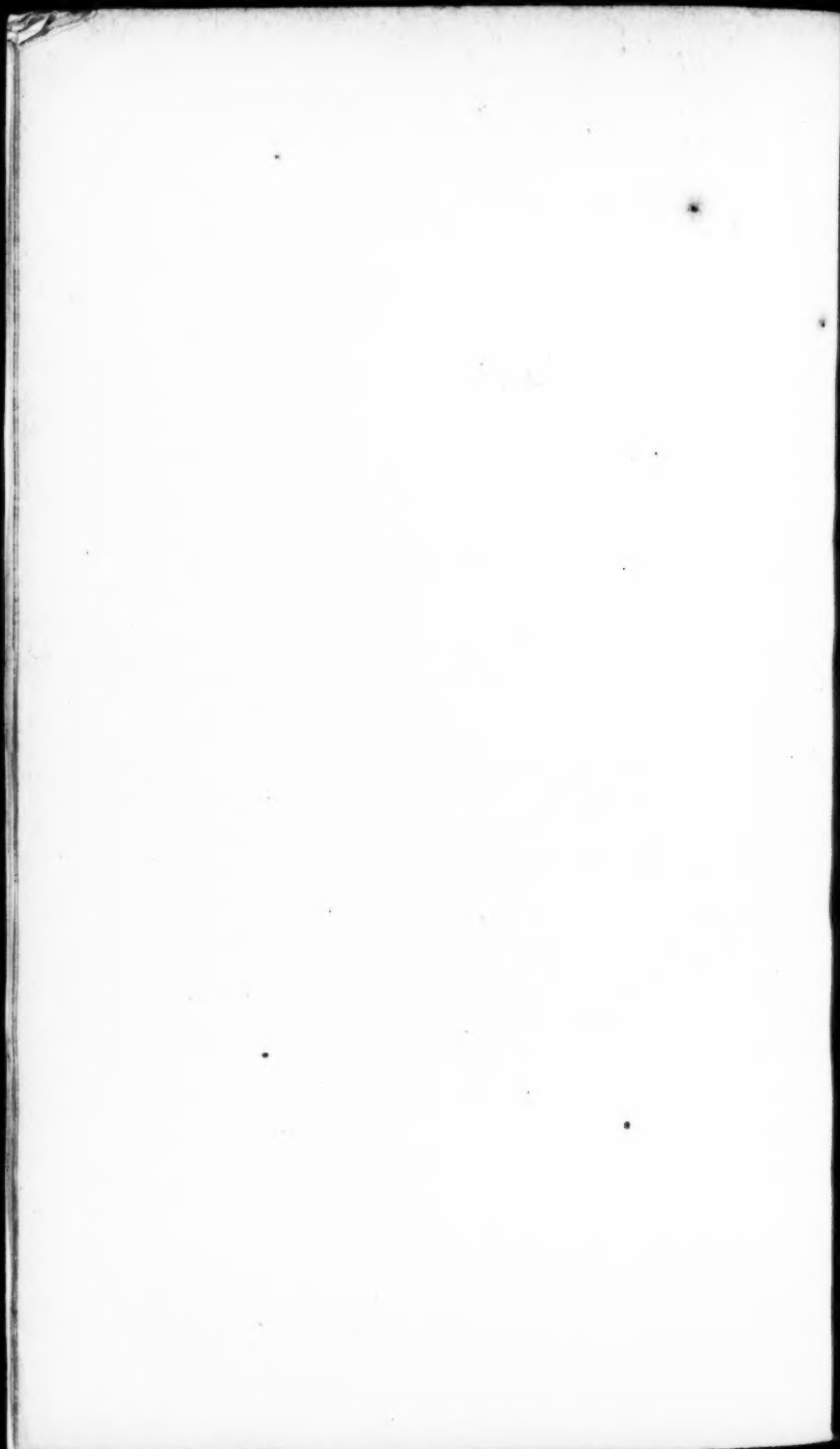
ART.	PAGE
8. The Drying up of the Euphrates, and the Downfall of Turkey. By the REV. R. ARTOUN. London: Virtue and Co.	
9. The Crisis in the East, or the Russo-Turkish War, with its consequences to England and the World, By CONINGSBY. London: Routledge and Co.	
10. The Danubian Principalities, the Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk. London: R. Bentley.	
11. Progress of Russia. London: J. Murray.	
12. The Religious Aspect of the Eastern Question. London: Ollivier.	
13. The Doom of Turkey. By J. Mc FARLANE. London: Bosworth.	
14. Russia in the Right. London: Mozley.	
15. Papers laid before Parliament on the Eastern Question. - - - - -	79
V.—Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Session, 1854. Parts I. and II. - - - - -	165
VI.—All for Jesus, or the Easy Ways of Divine Love. By FREDERICK WILLIAM FABER, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1854. - - - - -	194
VII.—1. Theological Essays. By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. Second Edition, 8vo. Cambridge: Mac Millan and Co., 1853.	
2. Grounds for laying before the Council of King's College, London, certain Statements contained in a recent Publication, entitled, "Theological Essays; by the REV. F. D. MAURICE, M. A., Professor of Divinity in King's College." By R. W. JELF, D.D., Principal of the College, and Canon of Christ Church. Oxford and London: Parker and Rivington, 1853.	
3. The Word "Eternal," and the Punishment of the Wicked. A Letter to the REV. DR. JELF, Canon of Christ Church, and Principal of King's College. By F. D. MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. Fifth Thousand, with a Preface. 8vo. Cambridge: Mac Millan and Co. 1853.	

# CONTENTS.

ART.

PAGE

4. *Doctrine de l'Eglise Anglicane Relative aux Sacraments et aux Ceremonies Sacramentales.* Londres, Paris, et Leipsic, 1853.
5. *A Companion to Confession, from the Ancient Offices of the Use of Sarum.* Translated and arranged, by a Layman. Second Edition. London: Lumley, 1853.
6. *A Companion to Holy Communion, from the Ancient Offices of the Use of Sarum.* Translated and arranged, by a Layman. Second Edition. London: Lumley, 1853.
7. *Rosaries: compiled for the use of English Churchmen.* London, 1853.
8. *An Ecclesiastical Dictionary, explanatory of the History, Antiquities, Heresies, Sects, and Religious Denominations of the Christian Church.* By the REV. JOHN FARRAR. 8vo. London: Mason, 1853.
9. *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A. M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. London: Mozley, 1853. - - - 212



THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MARCH, 1854.

---

ART. I.—*The Grounds of Faith. A Series of Four Lectures*, by the  
REV. H. E. MANNING. London: Burns and Lambert, 1852.

A STORY is told of one of the Esquire Bedels of Oxford, that, being on his death-bed, he sent for some one to administer spiritual consolation to him. The clergyman who came reminded him of the special privilege he had, by virtue of his office, enjoyed, of assisting at all the sermons preached by the greatest lights of the University. "Yes, Sir," the man replied, "for six-and-thirty years I have listened to the discourses delivered from the pulpit of the University, and, thank God, I die a Christian."

This is discouraging, and more especially in a religious communion, which enjoins on its members that, as the necessary part of a Christian education, "they shall chiefly be called upon to hear sermons." But we are not come to this. Amongst ourselves people sometimes complain of sermons being too long or too dull—that they take no pleasure in assisting at them, and feel them to be a bore, but that the result of a long course of sermons should be such as we have referred to, we must regard as a development belonging exclusively to a false communion.

But why is it that the faithful are oftentimes found to complain of preaching as if it were a thing rather to be endured than delighted in? Whence does the distaste

arise? In the present day especially, lectures on all subjects seem the rage. There are lectures on Music, on Chemistry, on Electricity, on the Polarization of Light, on Rotation of Crops, and the Elements of Guano. They are well attended, and the audience are interested, they are attentive at the lecture, and pleased afterwards. Why is it that sermons seem treated in a totally different way? Does this arise solely from the difference of the subject? And does it admit of a remedy? We intend to say a few words on these points, and, in short, to set for once a bad example by criticising and discussing Sermons and Preachers.

Why, then, we ask again, are people bored by a sermon, who are interested in a lecture on the rotation of crops? The primary reason is this, that in the one case the audience is composed of all sorts of people, those who are interested in the subject and those who are not; whereas in the other, it is composed mainly, if not entirely, of persons who have acquired a previous taste and knowledge on the subject. They have made it already a matter of study and reflection, and they bring with them minds prepared to enter into and sit in judgment on all that is said. We can always bear to hear men talk on a subject which is a fancy of our own. Whereas sermons are oftentimes addressed, if not to an unwilling audience, yet to persons who unfortunately feel but little interested in what they relate to. When, on the contrary, a discourse is addressed to a devout and religious congregation, there is but little difficulty in keeping up their attention. The subject is one in which they feel a very lively interest, and that is enough. Hence it has been said, and with truth, that a devotion to sermons is a mark of spirituality.

But though the main cause of this interest, felt in ordinary lectures, arises, as we have said, from the taste and character of the audience, yet it is not the only one. Sometimes a man will address an audience but little interested in his subject, and not only keep alive their attention, but fill them with astonishment and admiration. There are some men who can speak on anything, and make any subject interesting. They enliven it with anecdote and illustration. They have plenty of ideas and a fruitful imagination. They possess a fluency of language, which enables them to clothe any object with life and beauty. What is it which in this case rivets the attention of the audience?

Not the interest of the subject, but the genius and eloquence of the speaker.

Besides this, there is a third way in which the attention of an audience may be commanded when neither the interest felt in the subject is sufficient to ensure it, nor the talent of the speaker. Have we never been struck with the natural eloquence with which persons will speak on a subject in which they are deeply interested? There is a life and energy in their expressions which it is difficult not to be moved by. How painfully interesting are the few perhaps simple words which a criminal will use in pleading for mercy, or the poor child who follows us and entreats for some means of relief from hunger or from cold. Hear the tale of a man who has passed through strange perils and accidents, or met with hair-breadth escapes. Or, take again a person under the influence of excitement, an Irish woman in a passion, for instance, and observe how truly eloquent, as well as energetic, is the language in which they will declaim or deplore, inveigh or imprecate. The keenness of their feelings gives force to their words. And if those they address are ever so uninterested, yet the earnestness and energy of the speaker claims and obtains their attention.

It seems, then, that the pleasure and attention with which an audience will listen to a speaker or discourse depends on the interest they feel in the subject which is treated of. And that, if this interest does not already exist, there are two ways by which it may be created. One a spurious interest, excited by, or rather consisting in, the interest taken in the speaker, the liveliness of his ideas, and beauty of his language. The other a legitimate interest excited, not by the personal qualities of the speaker, but by his genuine earnestness and energy. Let us apply these principles to the subject of Sermons.

We have already pointed out as the first cause of the want of appreciation for Sermons, the character of the audience. Many do not care for sermons, or dislike them, because of their distaste in general for spiritual things. And this want of interest in the subject it is, which is the cause of their perverting the use of sermons, and looking upon them altogether from a wrong point of view. From their want of interest in the subject, their attention is rather turned to the manner than the matter of the discourse. They look upon the thing as if it were intended to be,

not speaking to the point on a practical subject, but a display of eloquence and artistic skill. If the style of the preacher, his language, or action dissatisfies them, they are dissatisfied with the sermon, for this is their idea of a sermon. They come away, and the reflections they make are not on the subject of the discourse—this escapes their notice—but simply and entirely on the skill or manner of the preacher. This is all that interested them.

Now it is not quite to the point, but we cannot resist the temptation, *en passant*, of observing that this perverted state of things amongst our congregations, so far as it exists, is sure to meet with an appropriate punishment. If they will look for what they have no right to expect, they will certainly be disappointed. And we rejoice thereat. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not wish, for a moment, to abolish good Preachers, or to suppress first-rate discourses, but such great qualifications, and so many of them, are required to make what people ordinarily mean by a good preacher, that it can in the nature of things be but seldom that they can be indulged. And as it is only a perverted taste and distorted view of the subject that makes them look for this sort of gratification from sermons instead of the much higher end for which they were intended, we cannot but look upon it as a happy thing that such a perversion should be thwarted and discouraged. "You come," we should say to them, "to the house of God not to be instructed but to be pleased, not to be stirred up to greater earnestness in saving your soul, but to be entertained by the eloquence and skill of the Preacher. You go away not making reflections on yourself but criticisms on him. You quite mistake the object of preaching, which was not meant to be an exhibition of skill, but for instruction and edification. If, therefore, you do not find what was never intended to be given you, you should not complain: the fault lies with yourself in expecting it."

And, indeed, we are persuaded that this vicious taste for eloquence in Sermons can only be cured by disappointment. So far from gratifying it the Preacher must not even pretend to do so. His attitude must be that of directing their attention to the same object that he himself is contemplating. Like the Apostles, when the people were in admiration at the miracle they had worked, he must say, "Why look ye upon us?" No doubt he will never succeed in making all look on Sermons as practical discourses



which treat of their own affairs, and concern themselves. Some there certainly will be who will still be displeased and dissatisfied; but it is their taste, let it be remembered, and not his discourses, that needs to be corrected. And even if, notwithstanding his efforts, they remain unmoved and uninterested, yet, even this may be of some use in leading them to see the difference, in this respect, between themselves and more devout people; and that the fault is in themselves. They can, and no doubt will, be critical, but they will be equally so, and with far more justice, if Sermons are preached which seem to recognize their perverted view of them. It would be well that people should be reminded, from time to time, what they have a right to look for in Sermons. They have no business to expect every preacher to be a man of first-rate talent, and to grumble if they do not find him so. What a congregation have a right to expect is, that a Sermon should be a discourse on some definite subject, with an intelligible aim and argument, and tending to some definite result or conclusion. But to confound sermons with orations, and to turn Preachers into public orators, is not only a great mistake, but a mischievous one.

It has already been noticed that there are two ways in which this primary difficulty of want of interest in the subject may be overcome. The first, when the speaker is a man of rare eloquence and genius, who can fix the attention of his hearers, if not to the subject, yet to himself. Shall we recommend this with Sermons? Far from it. It is in great measure the cause of the mischief: for as the chief fault or defect of people which leads them to complain of sermons is, that they forget the end and aim of preaching, and look for something in which they were never intended to be gratified, so the parallel fault or defect in sermons is when the Preacher loses sight of the end, and leads his audience to the contemplation of himself, instead of his subject. And it must be confessed that the perverted view in the congregation is very apt to arise from that of the Preacher.

If people hear, week after week, sermons that have no point or aim in them,—that are full of turgid language, of flowery metaphors, and well-got-up periods,—sermons in which the tone of voice and the action is everything, and in which the whole thing leads them not to contemplate the subject, but to take the measure of the preacher;—what

wonder if the audience comes at length to look upon them in the light in which they seem purposely to be put? If preachers should choose for their aim the pleasing, entertaining, and showing off, what more just judgment could befall them than to be taken by their own rule? They aim at entertaining their hearers, and they succeed, though not exactly after their own meaning. They endeavour to show off themselves, their talents, and powers, and they do show them off most accurately. The discriminating part of their audience go away with a most just idea of their qualities, both moral and intellectual.

A story is told of an Anglican clergyman who was called up to Oxford from the country to preach before the judges at the assizes. The service being concluded, the preacher strolled about, still full of his performance, and encountered an old acquaintance. After greeting him, he spoke of the reason of his coming there. "You know," he said, "I came here to preach before the judges; did you hear my sermon? What did you think of it? You know I had £10 for that sermon."—"My dear friend," replied the other, "I consider you a very ill-paid man. I would not have preached your sermon for fifty!"

It will, we fear, be thought that we are too hard on preachers, and require from them more than can be reasonably expected. Quite the contrary. For our own part, we should like the great bulk of preachers to be thoroughly convinced that they are not orators, and never will be. Not that we mean anything in the least disparaging or disrespectful to them. Do we, then, take a low view of their office? On the contrary, we do not wish preachers to degrade their high office by aiming at being orators. The office of a preacher is not less than that of an orator, but greater. What we mean is simply this, to make a great preacher, as people use the word, i. e., an orator, a great many high and difficult qualifications are necessary, such as will be found in very few men. Hence good preachers in this sense, they never can be. It is unreal to attempt it.

For just consider what is required to make a great preacher. An orator, like a poet, "*nascitur non fit.*" The qualities required are rare in themselves separately, and in their union still more so. In the first place, he must be a man of ability to be able to see so far, not to say farther, than most men; for otherwise, he will never be able to

grasp his subject in that masterly way, which is essential for a deeper, and, above all, a clearer view than other men take. His knowledge must not be confined, but must extend over a wide range of subjects, otherwise, how can he elucidate his subject by illustrations, by analogies, by historic examples? Hence he must be a learned man.

And even these qualities will be obscured or lost without the assistance of a powerful imagination, in order that the representation may have life and colour given to it. Imagination is of the greatest assistance to an orator, to enable him to interest his hearers, and to set things before their minds in the animated beauty of real existence. Yet, once more, all these great qualifications will be next to useless unless the owner combines what is quite a distinct and independent one,—a power of language. To what purpose is a man possessed of the most striking ideas, or the most commanding views—supported, it may be, by every argument from nature and history, illustrated by analogy, and enlivened by colouring and imagery, if all is locked up within himself, and he has not the power of giving utterance to a hundredth part of what he sees so clearly, and feels so warmly? He longs to move his audience; he knows he possesses what would enlighten and interest them, but he cannot get at them.

Shall we say, now, that our orator is thoroughly armed? Scarcely yet. These are his weapons, but he must put them on. Oftentimes those who are possessed of these qualifications will fail to persuade, and this for want of care and pains. They will not take any pains to study and arrange their subject; they have confidence in themselves, and know they can please and attract: but because they will not go to the trouble of preparing themselves, they fail to make an impression on others.

Seeing, then, how much is required to make “a great preacher,” many are tempted to despair. For our own part we wish that all were. And further, that they yielded to the temptation. It is much the best to look the matter in the face, and not to aim at what, from the rare qualities required, they cannot succeed in. What more ruinous mistake can be made than for men to leave their own talents to lie hid in a napkin, and to aim at something which is plainly not their vocation?

Terribly discouraging, this, we fear, to our youthful “rhetoricians,” who, with Cicero or Demosthenes as their

text book, have studied all the arts of an accomplished orator, who have warmed up, as they practised themselves, in the most graceful attitudes, in the most melodious inflexions of voice, in energy of style, beauty of expression, and high-flown poeticisms, with the fond hope that they should one day come out, and electrify people with their "thrilling eloquence." Terribly discouraging to tell them that, after all this pains and trouble, to become "great preachers" is a thing completely out of their reach. Still we hold it is better to look the thing in the face, and make the best of it.

However, we have a word of consolation, of malicious consolation, to "bad preachers." The sermons of "great preachers" are very inefficacious. We remember some pious persons going some little way to hear a great preacher. They came back in raptures; they had been up, not merely to the third heaven, but to the sixth or seventh, we forget which. It was celestial! it was divine! And "What was it about?" we asked, expecting that some very deep impression had been made. The question startled them. They had never thought of that, or had, at least, entirely forgotten it, though only a few hours before, and the explanation volunteered by themselves was that they had been so much enchanted with the preacher, his graceful action, his musical voice, his flowing language, his beautiful ideas, that the *subject* had not struck them.

Perhaps it may be a rather extreme case for a person not to be able to tell even the subject of a discourse with which he was in raptures, but of one thing we are sure, that fine sermons and eloquent discourses are not those which produce the greatest effects. The end of preaching is to persuade. And, therefore, the best sermons are those by which men are most persuaded. Just as the greatest sign of health is not having a sensible digestion, but being quite unconscious of all that nature is doing for us, and as the most successful painting is not that which makes us think of the artist, but which impresses the subject most vividly before our minds, so the perfection of preaching is when the preacher and his style are forgotten, absolutely forgotten, and the audience go away engrossed with the thought of what they have heard, striking their breasts, and renewing their resolutions.

We have been much edified at seeing, on different occasions, how much this is felt by really great preachers. For

the most part they are completely above any petty vanity and self-conceit at their own powers, and know as well as any that the compliments they receive, or the crowds that flock to listen to them, are not proofs of their success, but only a means put within their reach of attaining it. "The sort of preaching that I like," said one, "is that which ends in the confessional." And another celebrated man, when sent for to preach a course of sermons to a people who already knew and admired him, wrote to his superior: "How much will all those congratulations and vivas which I received heretofore cost me in purgatory! If I come now it will be to put aside all that sort of thing, and to speak plainly to people on the salvation of their souls."

We said that the main cause of the want of interest in Sermons was the want of interest in the subject; but this is not to be complained of too much, since one of the chief ends of preaching is to create an interest, and excite a taste not yet existing, for spiritual things. And it seems plain that it is not legitimate, as in mere matters of taste or amusement, to overcome this by a fictitious interest, excited by the personal qualities of the speaker. For this perverted view of preaching in the audience is the first great obstacle that stands in the way of its efficiency, just as the second great obstacle is a perverted view of preaching in the preacher. And, as it is essential to its efficiency that both these should be removed, so it appears that the former arises in some measure from the latter, and that the best way for the preacher to call the attention of his audience to the right point, is, himself to keep the end of preaching carefully in view. Moreover, we have already pointed out that even if preachers should aim at honour or applause, in most cases they could not obtain it: because the qualifications requisite for a man to be listened to for his own sake, are too great and rare to be within the reach of any but a few. The question then comes, what can they do? what is within the reach of most men? The Church is very practical in all that she undertakes; and when she made the arrangement that sermons should be continually preached, she neither intended, we take it, that the faithful should be periodically bored with flat and fruitless discourses; nor, on the other hand, did she expect that all preachers should be men of gigantic qualifications. She was not so unreasonable. But her intention was doubtless to establish an order of things, which, while it was beneficial

to the former, was not beyond the ordinary capacity of the latter. What, then, did the Church intend?

It has been shown that there is yet another means by which the attention and interest of an audience may be aroused and kept alive, namely, by the earnestness of the speaker. If a man makes any particular taste or science his study, if it continues to occupy his thoughts, and to engage his chief attention, he will always be able, under ordinary circumstances, to enlarge on it to others. Who does not know how fluently people talk on the particular subject which they make their hobby? And if it is a subject of practical importance, so as to awaken the feelings, as well as the taste or fancy of the speaker, who does not know that it enables him to speak on the subject to others with warmth and earnestness? Now, what does the Church expect of her preachers? Not anything too high or great, but simply this, that the care and edification of souls should be the chief study or pursuit of preachers; that it should be, in short, their hobby; that just as men of the world, engaged in schemes of speculation or benevolence, take up their subject, and study it till it engages their thoughts and their whole soul, and are able, in consequence, to write or speak on it with energy and vigour, and to command attention to what they say from their very earnestness,—so that those engaged in the sacred ministry should have their whole heart and soul engaged in their work; that it should be their taste, as well as their study; and when she calls on them to speak to others, she requires of them nothing more than what she supposes them able to do, from the strength with which they feel on the subject. She expects, in short, that we should be in earnest.

This, then, is the real essence of effective preaching. The preacher must keep the end in view, the edification of souls; and he must be in earnest. Earnestness will always make a successful preacher, and almost always a pleasing one. And why should not Christians be as fully engrossed with spiritual and eternal things as the men of the world are with their schemes, their enterprises, their pursuits? Or rather, how often have we seen religious and other men of ascetic life preaching with an ease as well as an earnestness, which arose from their being on fire with the subject. There can be no doubt that, being able to speak clearly and forcibly on a subject, is most intimately



connected with our feeling very strongly about it ourselves. And so it is that the sermons of monks and religious generally effect so much. It is not that they are, for the most part, more gifted even than others, but, by continual meditation and attention to spiritual things, they see them with a clearness and feel them with an intensity which others have not. Hence their earnestness is natural; and the true eloquence, which is an attendant on it, comes without an effort. St. Thomas of Villanova says that the words of a sermon should inflame the hearer. "But how," he adds, "can the heart be set on fire by those sermons which, though long and elaborate, issue, notwithstanding, from a frozen heart?" And, indeed, can we doubt that if a man were to make a meditation on the subject of his discourse, and were to speak with the impression thus made on his mind, he would preach far more effectively and pleasingly than if he had spent double the amount of time and attention on the brilliant metaphors, and flowery language, and rounded periods he was to use in it? If a man is not impressed with an idea or feeling, he will scarcely convey to others what he is not possessed of himself. The studied language with which he clothes his subject will neither adorn nor beautify it; it will but serve at best to cover its nakedness.

And this leads us to another argument, showing how much more effective earnestness is than talent in the work of persuading. For what is it that half the art of rhetoric consists in but in simulating earnestness? \* What an orator aims at above all things, is seeming to be in earnest, thus paying an involuntary homage to the true essence of effective speaking. How absurd does it seem that, while men of talent are endeavouring in this way to make the faculties of the mind supply for the deficiencies of the heart, those whose only strength lies in earnestness, should leave this to imitate the tricks and arts of those who are obliged to

---

\* A preacher fell one day into conversation with an actor. "Why is it," he said, "that you, when addressing your audience on what they know to be fiction, can yet succeed in exciting their sympathies, and moving them even to tears; while I, though speaking to mine on the most important realities of their existence, often fail in gaining their attention?" "The reason," said the actor, "is this: I act as if I were in earnest; you speak as if you were acting."

use them for lack of earnestness. But it will not succeed. *Ex abundantia cordis os loquitur*. We think far too little of this. Men's thoughts and feelings make themselves known, not only by their language, but despite of it. It has, indeed, been wittily said that language was meant to conceal our thoughts. But the very point of the saying is the sarcasm it contains. For as it requires some skill to dress up an object so as to conceal its shape, so it is only those who have some skill in language that can make it convey feelings they have not themselves. And it is an interesting study to observe how much this is the case in all symbolic or imitative arts, in music, painting, architecture, dress, and language, in short, in all those arts which clothe and develope ideas. With how much accuracy they are frequently found to express the thoughts and feelings of their authors, despite their utmost efforts to the contrary.

Let it not be thought that we propose to discard the use of art in preaching; certainly not. The great S. Liguori, who took particular pains to instruct his clergy how to preach effectively, and who wrote instructions for this purpose, does not in the least disdain the use of art. He even descends into the minutest details. He gives advice respecting the position of the body, of the eyes, of the hands. He says the preacher should seldom strike the pulpit, and never stamp. He should not run about in the pulpit, and seldom sit down. The tone of the voice is regulated, and the kind of gesticulation. But are these the main things to be attended to? No; the arts of preaching are to be subsidiary. Or, if you like, the first point in the art of preaching is earnestness. "In the first place," he says, "the preacher, if he wishes that his preaching should produce abundant fruit, should propose to himself the *proper end*, that is, to preach not with a view to obtain honour or applause, or any temporal advantage, but solely to gain souls to God."

Indeed, so far are we from thinking that art is to be discarded in preaching, that it is the very contrary conviction forced upon our observation, which was the first occasion of these reflections. We have met with some most zealous priests, whose great difficulty is preaching, that is to say, making their preaching effective. Though not deficient in ability, they feel themselves to lack many of the qualifications necessary to make a good preacher. Perhaps



they feel the difficulty of keeping alive the interest and attention of their audience, week after week. They are so discouraged by these difficulties as to think that preaching is not their vocation ; and are restless under a duty which they cannot perform satisfactorily, at least, not to themselves. Now we have been surprised to see how much really may be done by such persons towards preaching effectively by study and pains. So that, from thinking as we were once inclined to do, that unless a person possessed great natural endowments, he could not become a preacher, we now think that preaching is so far an art as to be attainable by almost all.

The distinguished man whose interesting volume we have prefixed to this article, has been heard to define preaching as "*speaking for God!*" And we can scarcely regard the intensely serious tone of his countenance and his voice, or the deep earnestness of his manner, or the thorough practical character of his reflections, without seeing how much impressed he is with the importance of the duty he is performing. The one idea that strikes us is that he is, according to his own definition "*speaking for God.*" Now this, once more, must be the aim of those who would learn the art of preaching. They must set the end of preaching steadily before them,—the edification of souls.

What we have hitherto said applies to all descriptions of sermons, but now we shall do better to distinguish between the different kinds. As there are two parts of a Christian's life, faith and practice, so there are two sorts of sermons concerned severally with these parts. A discourse, the end of which is to enlighten or impart knowledge, is called an instruction, whereas, a sermon, as distinguished from this, is meant to lead to exertion or practice. The instruction is of three kinds, according to the subject. For it may be on some point of dogmatic, or moral, or ascetic theology. For on each of these it is useful, and indeed necessary to give "*instructions.*"

Now, to refer to our old illustration, we every day meet with people, who, having made some particular pursuit or taste their study, are ever able, and generally willing, to enlarge on it to others ; and for what reason is it not possible to do this with spiritual subjects alone? The truth is, that where it is difficult to give a useful and interesting instruction, it is almost always because a man has not

thought or read on the subject. Let a man only study his subject well, and unless he is lamentably behind the rest of his fellow-creatures in capacity, he is sure to have some results which will form matter for a very good instruction. All that is required is, that he should have a clear view of his subject beforehand, and his study and reflections will supply abundance of appropriate matter. There are in every congregation many ill-instructed, but well-disposed persons, to whom a clear and pointed "instruction" is of the greatest service and most interesting, and oftentimes it is the most efficacious means of bringing home to the careless and sensual, the reality and importance of spiritual truth. While it has the additional advantage of being within the reach of persons of very ordinary abilities. If only they take the proper means, they may not only do it, but do it well.

All very nice, we suppose some will say, but we cannot find time for study and reflection, it is just the very thing we cannot have. With all we have to do, that *must* be attended to, it is idle to talk of our studying. Very well, we should answer them, if you cannot find time to study your sermons, we should advise your not preaching so often. If this is not possible, and still you cannot find time to study your sermons, there is still one other course open to you,—to preach bosh. Only in this case do not look for any great success from your discourses, for it will not be. It is not, of course, that these persons are ignorant of the matter on which they speak, but it is a matter of well-known experience that, however familiar a person may be with a subject, he cannot continue to speak on it with vigour, except by continued study and reflection. The mind loses its freshness, and the very familiarity itself which he has with it, makes him dull and commonplace. Those who are most successful in teaching in any branch of learning, find it necessary to refresh their own ideas by reading and thought.

The second sort of discourses are what are most properly called sermons, and have for their end, not to enlighten the intellect, but to rouse the will. And these are certainly much more difficult. For instructions the chief thing required is to be well up in the subject. It is an intellectual process; but the success of sermons depends, as we have said, on earnestness, that is to say, on the preacher's having a lively conviction of the truth and im-

portance of what he is saying. And just as the analysis of politeness shows it to consist in an imitation of real Christian unselfishness in all its bearings and relations, so all successful preaching is only so from its being a more or less correct expression of real genuine earnestness. Of course there will be times when preachers, as being but men, suffer from weakness or nervousness; of course they will have their temptations to a little vanity, or display of learning or eloquence, and times when from fatigue, or overwork, they may well be glad to get through their duties as best they may. Not for a moment would we upbraid men for deficiencies they themselves will be the first to deplore. When the candidate for holy orders is presented to the bishop, and he asks, "*Scis eum dignum esse?*" The archdeacon answers, "*Quantum humana fragilitas, &c.*" We must not expect too much. The quantum humana fragilitas must never be forgotten. But still earnestness, a vivid interest in spiritual things is the very substance of good preaching. And it is only as sermons proceed from, or approximate to this, that they will be successful.

Next as to practical rules, for as we have before said, a great deal may be done by studying the art of preaching, so long as this is kept in subservience to that which is its essence.

One most useful means is, to contemplate the character of the audience, and to consider what they most need to have urged upon them. One half the difficulty is surmounted when a man feels that he has something he wishes to set before them. We have heard of a preacher who in describing his performances, said that he did not know what he was going to say before he got into the pulpit; he did not know what he was saying while he was there, and when he came down he did not know what he had been saying. The result on the congregation we did not hear. But while this happened from extreme nervousness, we may assert in general that when a man goes into the pulpit without a definite notion of what he is going to say, his audience depart in a state of mind, the correlative of this, without a definite notion of what he has said. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* He had nothing to say and he said it. Whereas if on the contrary, a man makes up his mind beforehand, that the people he is to address are deficient in some particular point, or cold in some particular devotion, and

he wants to set them right, it becomes a much more easy thing, without any extraordinary qualifications, to speak to them earnestly, and to the point. For a preacher to ask himself, What am I going to talk about to-day? does not promise well for a useful sermon. For him to prepare his sermon by asking himself, About what do my audience most need to be spoken to? is a very different thing.

Next to a clear definite aim, the most useful thing is to adapt the language and ideas used, to the character of the audience. "The people," says Muratori, as quoted by S. Alphonsus, "are composed for the most part of the ignorant; if you address to them the most abstruse doctrines and reflections, and use words and phrases that are not adapted to ordinary comprehensions, what fruit do you hope for from persons who cannot understand you? Wherefore, the practice of those preachers will never be conformable to the rules of the art, or the principles of genuine eloquence, who, instead of accommodating themselves to the united capacity of so many of their hearers, appear to study to make themselves intelligible to the learned only; as if they were ashamed to make themselves understood by the poor, who have as good a right to the word of God as the learned." S. Francis of Sales, too, in urging this point, says that, "select language and sounding periods are the bane of sacred eloquence." Indeed, it is plainly a blunder, if not something worse, to attend more to the language than to the sense. You want to move or persuade your audience to a certain point, to impress them with a certain idea. What can be more plain than that to convey that idea to them you must use that language which will be most forcible to *their* minds? Grandiloquent language and high sounding words will not impress the audience who do not understand them with any idea of the *subject*,—the most it can attain is to give a magnificent idea of the preacher. "Did you understand my sermon to-day?" said a clergyman of the Establishment to an Irish peasant. The man drew himself up and expostulated, "Would I be so bould, yer honour?"

Yet it must not be forgotten that it is not always the most simple language that will be most forcible to a particular audience. Sometimes strong language, and a good deal of action, and other little ways and means are necessary to get at them. To study people, their modes of thought and expression, their feelings, ideas, and sym-

pathies, is not at all to be neglected by any man who would persuade them. On the contrary, it is the only way in which he can succeed. He can only impress them with a new idea or feeling, by working on those they possess already. The great difficulty is, how to adapt the language and ideas of a discourse to a mixed audience. But it seems the most natural thing to speak to that class that forms the majority, especially if that majority consists of the illiterate. Because the more educated classes can generally profit by a style adapted to the lower classes, whereas, the latter find neither pleasure nor profit in what is adapted to the former. Sometimes people complain of the rough language, or uncultivated style, or homely expressions of a preacher, forgetting that they themselves are not the whole of the audience, and that what they complain of is not so much the style of the preacher as of his audience.

The third important thing, and that most frequently neglected, is having an under-current of argument. St. Liguori goes so far as to say that the argument of a sermon should be a perfect syllogism. Not of course that it will do to make a sermon a mere process of ratiocination. Successful eloquence does not drive, but leads. To most men it is simply vexatious to have a logical conclusion forced on them. Major and minor premises may be perfectly unassailable, and the conclusion inevitable, yet if it is one they do not like, they will, notwithstanding, simply go on as they did before. The object of sermons is to influence the will. Now the reason cannot, as a matter of course, rouse the will; excited feelings can, but they cannot ensure stability or permanence of action. Hence, in order to be successful, the feelings must be excited, but they must be backed by reason. There must be no room for a man to think that he has simply been under a delusion, or has acted from the excitement of the moment. He must be able to see that what he has been persuaded to is reasonable and logical; that there are really good grounds for his acting as he does. The skeleton of a sermon must be a syllogism. Not, however, that the bones are to be left bare, they must be covered with abundance of solid flesh, they must have the beauty of figure and adornment, but in the meantime they must not cease to be the support and strength of the structure. A discourse without an argument cannot but be flimsy and unsteady.

The fourth suggestion we should venture to make is as to the value of strong categorical assertions. It is astonishing what an impression these make. It is as if the repetition of a pointed assertion acted physically, and made a deeper indentation each time it was renewed. Dr. Newman, in his sixth lecture on Catholicism in England, points out the wonderful influence for evil which this species of argument has had in this country, but undoubtedly it may be used for a good end as well as for a bad one. St. Liguori inculcates on catechists the practice of repeating salutary truths; "*Pluries repetiri præstat,*" he says, "*ut animo insideant et altiores in nobis agant radices.*" And with the same object it is a common practice in spiritual retreats or missions, to give out each day some maxim or truth to be repeated by each person many times during the day. This is useful even when the truth is ever so well known or familiar, but where people are ignorant, or ill-instructed, it is peculiarly efficacious. To expect such persons to follow long arguments, to see nice distinctions, or to understand the refutation of error, is hopeless. What is required to produce an effect on them is to enunciate plain truths, to explain them, to enforce them, to illustrate them, and then to enunciate them again.

If we are not very much mistaken, this is the most efficacious way of attacking Protestantism. As for controversy, or controversial sermons, we have very little faith in them. If Protestants had any accurate notions, or rather any notions at all, on theology, it might be well, but those who call themselves by this name are densely ignorant on spiritual truths, or even ideas. Their religion is simply a matter of feeling. Argument will not touch it. If you defend Catholic doctrine, or attack theirs, you have achieved but little, for doctrine of any sort does not guide them. It is with them a speculative affair, not one that has practical consequences. "*I believe,*" said one, "*in the Catholic Church; oh, yes! we profess this in the creed, but we, you know, are Protestants.*" But, on the other hand, preach doctrine to them, teach them that there is such a thing as truth, and what it is, and you will have gained a point. They have, as immortal beings, a nature that is capable of receiving spiritual truth, and that craves for it. If once they taste the food they will find it suit their appetite, and will come for more; the void in



their nature will have been filled up, they will confess themselves enlightened, and feel that they possess something they did not possess before. If we can succeed in fixing one truth of religion well into a man's heart, it will strike there, and go on working its way and growing, until, through sheer importunity, it produces results. As a man who has a craving passion at work within him, or who is, as we say, "possessed with an idea," is restless and unsatisfied unless he is doing something to gratify it, so let a man be possessed with a religious truth, and this, too, will, by the grace of God, work out its way into practical results.

It has been our business to speak of preaching as an art, but we do not pretend for a moment that a man has only to attend to certain rules, and to follow a certain system, and he will be sure of success. No, turning men's hearts is a much deeper and more difficult matter than this. Who can say what subtle influences are at work, who can tell on what it depends to be able to achieve so delicate an operation as to touch the heart of a man? Paul may plant, and Apollo may water, but it is God alone on whom depends the increase. Does the preacher want to command success? He must be a man of prayer. Preaching is not the power which moves men's hearts, but the preacher is an instrument for so doing in the hands of God. And prayer alone can bring down the grace of God. Every one remembers having heard of a certain preacher who, by his earnestness and eloquence, was the means of numberless conversions. On a particular occasion, when the effect of his sermon was more than usually apparent and astonishing, the cause of his success was revealed to him. "You think," it was said to him, "that all these conversions come from your great power, your fervour, your eloquence, but look! there in an obscure corner of the church is a poor creature whom no one regards, she is saying her beads, and offering up her prayers for the success of your sermon, *and to this you owe it.*"

ART. II.—1. *Some account of Domestic Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the End of the Thirteenth Century.* By T. HUDSON TURNER. Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1851.

2. *Some account of Domestic Architecture in England, from Edward I. to Richard III.* By the Editor of the "Glossary of Architecture." Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1853.

3. *The National Miscellany*, No. vi. Oct., 1853. Oxford: J. H. Parker.

THE last fifteen years have witnessed a progress in the study of mediæval architecture which, as we look back upon it from the present day, is truly astonishing. The revival of the study has formed quite an era in the annals of England. But it is clear to the most casual observer that, for the most part, those individuals whose names are allied in our minds with this revival, have devoted themselves almost entirely to the strictly ecclesiastical portion of the subject, while the principles of domestic architecture, as they were recognized and applied during the middle ages, have been comparatively forgotten. There are few, perhaps, who will not at once acknowledge that the name of the late Mr. Pugin is an exception to our statement; but excepting Mr. Pugin himself, we believe that Mr. Hudson Turner was the first who pursued a systematic enquiry into the subject of English Domestic Architecture. The results of these inquiries he laid before the world in 1851 in the shape of a dissertation, which carried the subject down to the conclusion of the thirteenth century; and we had occasion at the time to speak\* in terms of considerable praise as to the manner in which he had executed his task. But soon after the publication, the author was cut off by consumption in the very prime of life, leaving a sad gap to be supplied in the field of archæological literature. It was Mr. Turner's intention, had his life been spared, to have followed his subject down to a much later period: and much as we regret his loss, we are happy to say that, in "the Editor of the Glos-

---

\* See Notice in Dublin Review, Sept., 1851, p. 288.



sary of Architecture," that is in Mr. J. H. Parker, of Oxford, has been found an individual in every way able and competent to carry on the work which was left unfinished by his friend. Accordingly, being fully acquainted with the intended plan which Mr. Turner had proposed to himself, from the fact that all along he had directed his labours, Mr. Parker has arranged and digested the few scattered materials relating to the fourteenth century, which were left by Mr. Turner in a very slight and imperfect state.

Prefixed to the former of these volumes, is a very valuable introduction by Mr. Turner, in which he gives us a brief but interesting account of the progress of Domestic Architecture in England from the earliest times: and though many of his inferences are conjectural, he has supplied us with a great amount of really valuable information.

Mr. Turner begins by ascribing to the ancient Roman occupants of our island, the first steps made by our countrymen in domestic architecture. The aboriginal Britons, it seems, though far more exposed to the inclemency of the skies than the inhabitants of the sunny plains of Italy, were wonderfully behind them in all the arts that appertain to refinement and civilization. Thus it was to the Roman Auxiliaries who once occupied our land that Britain owes the very first rudiments of house building. Nor were these Romans the flower of their country: far from it; "neither the wealth nor the climate of the country were such as to induce any extensive settlement of the more polished subjects of the Cæsars. A few merchants who had come from Belgium and Gaul, a few veterans who had become colonists, a few of the chief native inhabitants who had received the honour of citizenship and some tincture of southern civilization, together with the army itself, formed all that could strictly be termed the Roman, in contradistinction to the aboriginal population."

What, then, were the features of the domestic buildings raised by the Romans in England? The various parts of a Roman house are familiar to all readers of antiquities; we have all of us read books by scores on Pompeii and Herculaneum; and, accordingly, no very great detail is necessary here. We are not, however, disposed to think much of the comfort of an ordinary Roman house, especially when

we learn that the small bed-chambers were built around the hall, and derived what little light they could, internally, from apertures opening into it; or if they had windows in the external wall, at all events had no glazing, nor even wooden shutters to keep off the wind and rain; in this case we do not wonder at finding that the *atrium* or hall was the general sitting-room and kitchen too of the family. And to judge from the outline of a private Roman house in England, fifteen centuries ago, as described by Mr. Turner, they must have fallen considerably short of those comfortable edifices with which we are familiar in the pages of Cicero and Pliny.

For an account of Domestic Architecture in London under the Romans, at a time when London *was* to Rome what Sydney *is* to London, we must refer our readers to a very interesting article in the "National Miscellany" of October last, entitled "Roman London," containing a fund of information which will amply repay the reader for his pains. Considering that, at the present day, Roman London lies beneath the present surface of the city at a depth of from nine to thirty feet, and that in order to arrive at a view of it we have only to "scrape off the thick stratum of dirt which intervenes between us and it," we may well wonder that so little is known of the condition of its private edifices, in the old days when "early Roman colonists associated what now is May-Fair, and the West end, with horrid visions of painted savages, chariots armed with scythes, and thick woods fitted only for ambuscades and Druidical orgies." The substance of what Mr. Turner says upon the subject is summed up in the following lines:

"Of domestic habitations within towns during the Roman dominion in this country, we know very little.....Ground not being so valuable as in Rome and other cities of the continent, we may conclude that the houses were generally built without an upper story, a contrivance which appears to have been originally suggested by the difficulty of accommodating an increased population within a limited area. Of the meaner classes of houses, as shops, for instance, we are left to form an idea from an inspection of the remains of such buildings in Pompeii."—p. v.

But the Romans passed away, and the Saxons came. Still the early Saxon period was one of incessant warfare, and besides, it is buried in fable: the only certain fact

relating to it is that it was an age unfavourable to the progress of the arts.

"If we turn," says Mr. Turner, "to the Sagas and other early records of the history and manners of the northern races, we find that the dwellings of their kings and chiefs consisted of only two apartments, and that sovereigns and their counsellors are described as sleeping in the same room. The habitations of the mass of people were wooden huts, rarely containing more than one room, in the centre of which the fire was kindled. Such was the style of domestic architecture which the Saxons would bring with them to this country; and in this fashion most of the houses were built down to the latest period of their dominion. To this method there was nothing repugnant in houses erected on the Roman plan, which they found on their arrival; and we may be pretty certain that wherever, in town or country, such houses existed in a habitable state, or capable of being made habitable, however rudely, they were occupied by the invaders. The Saxon chieftain would find better accommodation in a large Roman house, with its spacious atrium, than he had been wont to enjoy; and in its essential features the plan of the edifice did not vary from that of the rude habitation of his fatherland; but still there was the hall for feasting his numerous retainers, and more chambers for other domestic purposes."—pp. vii. viii.

Owing to the badness of roads, and the loss of mechanical skill in the working of stone, it appears that such domestic buildings as were erected during the Saxon period were built of wood, which was very abundant in most parts of the island, and thatched with reeds or roofed with shingle. Still, as before—and as we shall see was the case to a much later period—the capacious hall was the sitting-room of the lord and his retainers, and served, as in the Roman times, for the purposes of the family kitchen, besides doing additional duty as the sleeping apartment, always of the "hearth-men," and sometimes of the lord himself. That the roofs of the houses were of thatch is a point which Mr. Turner establishes from various manuscripts, detailing the legends of the Saints, such as that of St. Swithin, by Lantfred, (a record belonging to the latter period of the ninth century) in which the houses of the persons to whom that saint appears are styled *tuguria*, or huts, a word which in classical writers at all events is never applied to any building of a higher class.\* Some

\* Thus Virgil, Ecl. i. 69. "Pauperis et tuguri congestum cespite culmen." It is thus that we can understand how Winchester, in

of the houses of the wealthier "thegnes" or "thanes" may possibly have been rudely decorated, as Mr. Turner remarks, with carvings like those which ornamented the beaks of their galleys; but whether this was the case or no, it is certain that the Anglo-Saxon house, constructed as it usually was on a small scale, and barely more than water-tight, was almost always "rude alike internally and externally, faintly lighted, badly ventilated, and wanting in every appliance for comfort and decency." The later centuries of Saxon dominion may and must indeed have contributed to improve the condition of architecture in England, by the increased intercourse then kept up between this island and the continent, when Englishmen, both clerics and merchants, were in the habit of visiting not only the cities of France and Italy, but also Constantinople and Syria, on their way to the great annual fair held at Jerusalem. But the influence of this intercourse, it would seem, was felt rather in the improved style of ecclesiastical architecture which now arose, than in the domestic edifices of the period, if we except the case of royal

---

the Saxon times, could have contained so numerous a population as it is reported to have done. Mr. Hallam, in his supplemental notes to his valuable *History of the Middle Ages*, estimates it at 10,000; and Mr. Turner acquiesces in his estimate (p. 117.) though he considers that the population of London at the same period was about the same in square numbers, and that Mr. Hallam is greatly mistaken when he estimates it at double that number. Apropos of the subject of London, we may here append some remarks of Mr. Turner's, which are not devoid of interest. "The houses of London in Saxon times could not have been superior to those of Winchester. A statement made by the chief inhabitants of that city in the 12th century, expressly declares that, down to the reign of Stephen, the houses were built of wood, and covered with thatch. At length the frequent recurrence of disastrous fires compelled the citizens to employ, when possible, more enduring materials; but London, nevertheless, continued to be a town mainly of wood and plaster, almost to the period of the great conflagration in the seventeenth century." It may here be observed that although the houses were mostly of wood and straw, stone was extensively used in the building of the churches in London during these mediæval times—a marked proof, by the way,—if proof be necessary,—of the superiority of those Catholic days to an age like the present, when private houses are built of stone, while cheap churches are executed in brick.

courts. In the latter, at this time, the *furcæ* or wooden posts which had hitherto supported the roof, gave place to "columns of stone connected by circular arches, and light was admitted by round or square headed windows;" the roof being covered with oval-shaped tiles or shingle, and the doors adorned with iron work of an intricate and luxuriant design. Chimneys, we may remark by the way, were at this time wholly unknown: the fire was lit in the centre of the hall under the dome of the roof, and the smoke escaped through an horizontal or perpendicular aperture above.

Such were our English homes less than a thousand years ago. What change was wrought in them by the Roman Conquest? Mr. Turner shall answer for himself. "It is not easy to perceive, that a substantially built Saxon hall could have differed materially from a Norman hall of the same period, any more than a Saxon house could have differed in its arrangement from a Norman house. The chief difference was, probably, that the latter had an upper story, a feature which seems to have been uncommon in England until late in the twelfth century. Both the Saxon and Norman had originally been built much in the same style; and both derived every modification and improvement of that style from the same source,—an imitation of the details of Roman architecture."—p. xvi.-xvii.

The Roman Conquest, then, which operated so powerfully in England as to cause a sudden and complete revolution on the face of the political world, by the immediate introduction of the feudal system with all its attendant train of social consequences, worked but little alteration in the general arrangement of English homes. The amount of accommodation in most cases was much the same as before, consisting of the large hall and the narrow bed-chamber. William had something else upon his hands besides the improvement of private residences; what little work he did in the way of architecture was only the erection of such fortresses as were necessary for the preservation of his conquests. Hence, though there are many Norman churches now standing which belong to the eleventh century, it is probable that we have very few private buildings of an earlier date than the twelfth. In towns the houses or huts were built of timber, mud, and clay, stone being, in most parts, as before, a rare and costly luxury. Bricks were at this time made like tiles in the Roman fashion,

and most probably passed under that name; for although it is certain that bricks *were* used in building in different parts of the country where clay abounded, it is equally certain that the *word* does not occur in documents relating to architectural details of this and the two following centuries. Glass, too, though painted and adopted in churches as early as the twelfth century, does not seem to have been used in domestic buildings; the windows were mostly closed with iron shutters, iron stanchions being also introduced for purposes of safety; canvass, too, was sometimes used as a substitute for glazing.

So few domestic edifices of the twelfth century are standing, that for anything like a detailed account of the architecture of this age we are obliged to have recourse to such unsatisfactory sources as ancient documents relating to the conveyance of property, the earlier accounts of the Exchequer, the notices of chroniclers, and the pictorial illustrations of contemporary manuscripts. By a patient comparison of these, however, Mr. Turner has contrived to place before us a tolerably clear and distinct picture of the interior of a Norman residence. The general features were of one uniform plan, namely, that of a large hall (called in Latin *aula*, and in Norman French *la sale*, or *salle*, and in Anglo-Saxon '*heall*'), with chambers adjoining. The hall was generally on the ground floor, or else above another story, which was partially sunk below the level of the ground; and, as in the old Saxon times, it served the purpose, not only of a sitting-room for the master and his retainers by day, but also of a dormitory by night. Even the king's houses were on the same plan, and surpassed those of the nobles and landowners in size only, and perhaps in having the appendage of a chapel. Some of the halls of this period were so large, that they were divided by one or even two rows of arches, resting upon pillars of wood or stone, which partitioned them into three parts, like the nave and side aisles of a church. "One hall of this description," says Mr. Turner, "remains at Oakham Castle, in Rutlandshire, being part of a structure erected by Walkelin de Ferrars, in 1180." Another hall of the same period now serves as the place for holding the County Court at Winchester. The upper part of the hall, where the master and his personal friends sat at their meals, was slightly raised, and called the '*dais*;' behind this *dais* was generally a chamber called the '*cellar*,' and



used as such, communicating with the hall by a door, and above this cellar was the *solar*, or *sollero*,\* the private chamber of the great man himself, and communicating with the hall by stairs of wood or stone. At the lower end of the hall was often a screen, such as are now to be seen in College halls, and at the Inns of Court, with two small doorways opening into the kitchen and buttery respectively. Some large houses were built with an upper story, access to which was gained by an exterior flight of steps: specimens of this construction still remain at Boothby-Pagnell, Canterbury, Lincoln, Southampton, and Bury St. Edmund's. The fire-place and chimney occur only in the solars of this date, the smoke of the fire, if one was lighted in the centre of the hall, escaping, as before, through an aperture in the roof. As to interior decorations, the apartments seem to have been confined to tapestry hangings and some rough daubings painted upon a kind of mortar, with which the walls were finished internally; the whole stock of a nobleman's domestic furniture consisted of the bed and chest in his sleeping apartment, and the rough tables and benches of the hall; the chest doubtless, as Mr. Turner says, "serving the place of a wardrobe, and holding the cumbrous apparel and valuables of the owner." It may seem strange that there was at this time but one private chamber in any of the houses of the period, but Mr. Turner makes no exception in favour even of royalty. "We find," he says, "that when our sovereigns did not attend to public business in the hall, or give audience in their chamber, they used the chapel for that purpose. In the chroniclers of the twelfth, and even of the thirteenth century, there are frequent notices of the transaction of secular business in the domestic chapel." (p. 17.) As to the good citizens of London, it is from an early document, well known as the 'Assise' of the first year of King Richard I., quoted at considerable length by Mr. Turner, that we learn what was the condition of their domestic buildings at this period. We can imagine how the wealthy merchants, bankers, and shopkeepers of Cheapside and Lombard Street would

---

\* In later times this solar came to be used as a sort of parlour or withdrawing room for the master and his family; in this case it very often commanded a view of the hall by means of a window pierced in the wail above the dais.

stare if they could be transported back in mind some seven hundred and fifty years, and take a view of the mean hovels and reed-thatched huts\* which then were standing on either side of old St. Paul's, and along the then outlying suburb of Fleet Street,—the neighbourhood which, as we learn from various documents, was the head quarters of the “ale-wives and felt hat makers,” just as Watling Street and Thames Street were occupied by cookshops, which in the process of time, as private hospitality grew more stinted and rare, became in their turn the progenitors of divers inns and hosteleries.

We have not time to dwell here on the very interesting chapter which Mr. Turner devotes to a detailed examination of the “existing remains” belonging to this century; we will only mention, among other edifices as worthy of particular attention on the part of our antiquarian friends, the hall at Oakham,† the King's House at Southampton, a Norman house at Minster in the Isle of Thanet, the Jew's House at Lincoln, the Refectory at Dover Priory, the ancient manor house at Barnack, Northamptonshire, and the former hostelry in Southwark (now destroyed), which once belonged to the Priory of Lewes. The engravings with which these interesting remnants are respectively illustrated, are particularly well executed, and convey a very accurate impression of their former state.

The first half of the thirteenth century, as a whole, was not very favourable to the progress of the peaceful and

---

\* Their stability may be readily inferred from the fact that by the assize it was provided that the aldermen of the city should each be provided with a proper hook and cord, to pull down about the ears of the unfortunate inmates any house, the owner of which refused to conform to the regulations laid down as to party walls and other points of details. It must be supposed that these hooks and cords were sufficient to pull down a tenement in case of fire or any other emergency. Indeed, it is difficult to see by what other method the course of a fire could have been arrested in those times, when Mr. Braidwood and his fire-brigade were unknown and unheard of. It may here be remarked that in the first year of Stephen's reign a conflagration spread from London Bridge to St. Clement's Danes, in the Strand, destroying the Cathedral of St. Paul; thus covering very much the same space as the great fire of 1666.

† Described at full length by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in the fifth vol. of the *Archæological Journal*.



useful arts. The wars between king John and his barons kept the kingdom in such a state of continual turmoil, that in the way of architecture nothing great would seem to have been executed, with the exception of the fortification of existing castles. A different era arose with the accession of Henry III., who was an eminent patron of architectural skill; and under the Edwards, as our readers are aware, Christian architecture reached, if not its full development, at least its highest perfection. The cessation of civil wars gave an impetus to the erection of domestic buildings; and as vast territories of land grew more generally divided, manor houses increased and multiplied. We find, however, in most of them, the same general plan and outline followed on which we have already dwelt, in treating of the previous century, with the addition of an oratory or chapel, otherwise called an oriel, (*oratoriolum*) adjoining the solar. An approximation, too, may be traced to the quadrangular ground-plan, which afterwards became so generally adopted throughout England. The finest examples of this period are Stokesay Castle, near Ludlow, and Aydon Castle, in Northumberland; each of them, however, partake, to a greater extent than perhaps was usual, of the military character, owing to their respective situations on the border lands of Wales and Scotland. Little Wenham Hall, in Suffolk, is another specimen, curious in its way, from being one of the earliest known instances of the use of bricks in the mediæval times. This century is to be remarked for the general introduction of glazed windows into domestic edifices,—though glass was mostly imported from abroad—and for the erection of separate (though, it would seem, frail and temporary) buildings for culinary purposes,—the advancement of civilization, perhaps, having gradually rendered the ‘cook’s room’ in the hall more acceptable than his ‘company.’ At this period, also, rooms began to be wainscotted, at least in the royal palaces and larger monasteries, and the wainscot itself was adorned with polychromatic devices, derived, probably, from the Greek school of art. It was the fashion also to adorn the stone or marble mantel-pieces with the same decorations. From this time also is to be dated the introduction of screens into the halls of the nobility, and of tiles, first plain, and then ornamental, for paving the floors. But this refinement very probably was confined to the dais; for we hear of the space below

the dais being frequently called 'the marsh,' by way of distinction; and the name may possibly have been appropriate enough; for carts and horses were not uncommonly introduced into the hall, as we learn from an order in the reign of Henry III. to widen the doorway of the Great Hall at Winchester, so as to admit the entrance of carts. It may be interesting also at the present day to know that Henry III. was the first author of the sanatory movement, and the first who commenced the great work of drainage.\*

We have said that throughout these ages the *hall* seems to have been, without exception, the most prominent feature in every manorial or military residence. Nor can we be at a loss for the reason of this fact. We do not think that the feudal system alone adequately accounts for it; and indeed, halls were in use before the Norman Conquest introduced the feudal system into England. We read in it a clear recognition of the great doctrine which teaches us that we all constitute but one family, as brethren in the Church of God. This was the solemn Christian truth which, though recognized in words by us, was realized in deed by our forefathers in the olden times, and to which the great halls still remaining in our ancient country houses still bear their testimony. And we cannot well fancy a more grateful spectacle than that which these halls must have afforded at Christmas tide, with the lord and his relatives seated at the dais, and the rest of his family (for then servants and dependants were held to come within the meaning of this term) at the tables down either side, partaking of the good old English fare of roast beef and plum pudding,—“high and low, rich and poor, one with another.” Mr. Turner's remarks do not, indeed, go to this extent, but he certainly would seem to imply some-

---

\* It may here be remarked that the earliest conduit made in London was established by the monks of Westminster; and Mr. Turner informs us that to this day the precincts of the Abbey are supplied from the original source. Verily these “idle drones” were not, after all, so backward, even in matters relating to mere physical health and comfort!

“The refuse and dirty water from the royal kitchens had long been carried through the great hall at Westminster, until.....the foul odours arising therefrom, seriously affected the health of persons congregating at court; to remedy this evil, a subterranean conduit was devised, which conveyed this offensive matter into the Thames.”—p. 94.

thing approximating to it, when he speaks about the hall as applied to purposes of charity and hospitality.

"The general plan," he writes, "of buildings of the thirteenth century strictly resembled the arrangements which were usual in the previous age. The new style of architecture, called Gothic, or Early English, gave, of course, an entirely novel and distinct appearance to the details of secular as well as ecclesiastical edifices; but it did not generate any change in the ordinary features of either; for the plain reason that those religious forms and social usages which had originated the structural peculiarities of sacred and civil architecture still continued in full force. Indeed, it is a fact that must not be lost sight of, that the feudal system itself executed a direct and readily perceptible influence in the character of domestic architecture. The ample jurisdiction, not unfrequently including royalties, granted by the crown to its great tenants, rendered every baronial seat, and, in its degree, every manorial house, a miniature regal establishment. As the sovereign entertained his court and the judges of the realm held pleas in the hall of Westminster, so the lords of honours and manors, aided by assessors, held their royalty courts and courts-baron at their chief seats, administered justice, and entertained suit and received service of their dependants. Then the large manorial hall was rendered necessary for other purposes than the exercise of hospitality; for in those times there was no village inn at which the lord's agent could receive the suitors... Thus the hall was essentially feudal in its origin and purpose, and continued to be the chief feature of every mansion until the decay of that social system in which it had its origin."—pp. 69, 70.

The following passage will be read with a sigh for the good old times which are gone by:—

"Capacious as these apartments generally were, the profuse charity and hospitality of the age often required further accommodation. At Westminster and at Windsor, respectively, there were, in this century, two halls, a greater and a lesser. It was the practice of John and of Henry III. to order both the halls of Westminster to be filled with poor people, who were feasted at the royal expense; and when a parliament was assembled, or when the king held a *cour plenièrre*, and wore his crown, as at Easter or Whitsuntide, extensive temporary accommodation was provided for the concourse of guests."—p. 64.

We fear that we must omit to follow Mr. Turner through very many pleasant subjects, and content ourselves with referring our readers to his most readable and instructive volume for information relative to roads, carriages, and

travelling in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the then condition of the chief cities of the kingdom, next after London, such as Winchester, Lincoln, Northampton, Lynn, and Southampton, as well as the more strictly domestic matters of bedsteads and their furniture, knives, forks, and spoons, and the out-of-door duties connected with horticulture. On each and all of these subjects, the antiquarian reader will not fail to be delighted with the vast amount of well-digested information set before him. On one matter, however, we are bound to pass a remark. The social and physical benefits conferred upon England by the wide spread of the monastic system, constitute a subject on which it was impossible for Mr. Turner to be silent; and we have great pleasure in observing that he never scruples, where occasion offers, to do justice to the monasteries, and to admit their merits with perfect fairness. Would that all Protestant writers, and even Protestant antiquaries, had done equal justice to their saintly memories! In this respect, we cannot but feel that Mr. Turner's book must be productive of good. We have already seen how he confesses the first conduit in London to have been constructed by the monks of Westminster: he shows that in the lack of inns, the monasteries afforded food, and shelter, and convenient supplies to the weary traveller; that they reclaimed the wildest and most waste spots of marsh and forest land; that the religious, and especially the monks of the Carthusian order, were the chief agriculturists and horticulturists\* of the kingdom, their documents being to this day

---

\* The horticultural skill of the Cistercian monks of Wardon, in Bedfordshire, a foundation dating from the 12th century, produced at some early but uncertain time, a baking variety of the pear. It bore, and still bears, the name of the abbey; it figured on its armorial escutcheon, and supplied the contents of those Wardon-pies so often named in old descriptions of feasts, and which so many of our historical novelists have represented as huge pasties of venison or other meat, suited to the digestive capacities of gigantic '*Wardens*' of the feudal times. It is time, in justice to these venerable gardeners, that this error should be exploded. Their application to horticultural pursuits, even up to the dissolution, is honourably attested by a survey of their monastery, made after that event, which mentions the 'great vineyard' and the 'little vineyard,' a hop yard, and two orchards, doubtless the same

the best sources of information relating to mediæval husbandry; and especially that the noble abbeys of Yorkshire, Fountains, Rievaulx, and Kirkstall, served as useful outposts and strongholds in troublous times, and were the pioneers of civilization in a rude and semibarbarous district.

The historical illustrations, taken mostly from the Liberate Rolls of the kings during these two centuries, contain several most valuable extracts illustrative of the manners of the times, and especially of the great care bestowed by our English kings upon the chapels, which were invariably attached to their royal residences, upon their fitting decoration, and the erection of suitable images of the Saints, and especially on the appropriate adornment of the sanctuary and altar. These are full of lessons which, we fain would hope, will not be lost upon Protestant archæologists. The supplemental notes of foreign examples, with which the volume closes, contain very many choice and elaborate specimens of domestic architecture of the same period, from the various towns of France and Germany, among which we may mention Tours, Beauvais, Ratisbon, Angers, and Fontevrault. The ancient kitchen belonging to the abbey at this latter place, which generally goes by the name of the octagon chapel, or tower of Evrault, is perhaps the most curious specimen of foreign domestic work; it is well known to architects and archæologists as an almost unique specimen of the kind; the only building which at all resembles it, is the Abbot's kitchen at Glastonbury, though the latter is of a more recent date.

With the end of the thirteenth century, Mr. Turner brings his volume to a close; and as we said above, Mr. Parker, in another volume, has carried down the history of English Domestic Architecture to the end of the succeeding century, which brings us to the accession of Richard II. The Edwardian period, as we have said above, has been justly celebrated for having brought to its perfection that style of Architecture which is generally known as Gothic, in its decorated development. The peace and prosperity of the first Edward's reign, and the constant intercourse maintained with France, on account

---

in which the Wardon pear was first reared. The Wardon is still known in the West and other parts of England, as a winter pear." (pp. 137, 138.)

of the English provinces upon the Continent, added to the king's personal fondness for the arts, and his encouragement of artistic skill, resulted in an immense development not only of ecclesiastical but also of domestic architecture. The connection of William of Wykeham with Edward III., his skill displayed in the restoration of Windsor Castle, and his magnificent structures at Winchester and Oxford, are too well known to be mentioned here.

The corresponding improvement made during this century in domestic architecture, is to be traced in very many examples still existing: for, as might have been expected, the remains of this century are fully as numerous as those of all the preceding centuries together. Among the most important, too, as we might infer was probable from the magnificent splendour and temporal riches of the Church during this century, are the Bishops' Palaces at Wells, Lincoln, St. David's (now in ruins), Southwell, and Norwich. The houses and castles of the nobility built at this period, were very many in number, the finest existing specimens being those of Penshurst, Dacre, Belsay, Nunney, Raby, and several others of lesser note; it may be remarked that while in the centre and south of England, these residences lose something of their military character, still on the Welsh and Scottish frontiers the more military style still prevails. In these parts doubtless during this century as during the preceding one, every Englishman's house was his castle; it is asserted by Mr. Parker that, in the former locality, the walls which surround the fortified manorial residences, were fixed by licence at a minimum of ten feet in height. But in fact, as Mr. Parker observes, the general appearance of a country house, whether of a baron or squire, partook of the castellated character, in its battlements, towers, and drawbridge,\* though on closer examination, the domestic features become more apparent. Even in the more domestic buildings, there is generally some one tower of strength, pierced with loopholes, and surmounted with battlements; while conversely in the stronger fortress, the domestic portions have often a semi-military character;

---

\* A remarkable example of this construction, though dating from the following century, occurs at Hever Castle, in Kent, which belonged to Sir Thomas Boleyn, father of the notorious Anne Boleyn.



so that it becomes no easy task to distinguish between a fortified dwelling-house, and an actual castle or fortress which had habitable parts, such as Carnarvon and Caerphilly castles in Wales, which partake of both characters, though certainly belonging rather to the class of castles than of private houses.

The volume descriptive of the fourteenth century, after a very interesting chapter consisting of remarks on the general features of the domestic architecture of that time, comprises three chapters, devoted respectively to a description of the Hall, the Chambers, and the Offices, with another on the general features of mediæval towns, and closes with two other chapters which give a tolerably complete catalogue of the existing remains in England and on the Continent respectively. We do not observe that the Editor has even attempted to extend his researches to either Scotland or Ireland: but we venture to think that something might be done in the latter country to follow up the field of enquiry which has been already opened by Mr. Archdall. Neither the Catholicity of England, nor the feudal system, as yet, had received a blow in merry England: and so we are prepared to find the same arrangements carried out in the houses of the great with respect to the apartments. The hall consequently, as before, remained the principal feature of the house: but some improvements may be traced in its fittings. Our chief sources of information here are the *Chronicles of Froissart*, the poems of Chaucer, and early metrical ballads and romances, such as "*Piers Plowman*," and "*Sir Bury of Hamptoun*." The hall was often raised above cellars, or vaulted rooms, and paved with stones or tiles; the dais was surrounded with hangings of finer tapestry. A window was opened from the solar to command it, the wooden roof was often richly ornamented with timber work, and on the outside surmounted with an ornamental crest; and the louvre,\* or lantern over the centre, still remained for the escape of the smoke from the fire which blazed on the hearth in the middle of the hall: the windows were occasionally glazed with glass, fitted into moveable frames or

---

\* It would seem that no original louvre of the fourteenth century is remaining at this day. That on the top of Westminster Hall, however, according to Mr. Parker's account, is an exact copy of the original one erected towards the end of that century.



of the English provinces upon the Continent, added to the king's personal fondness for the arts, and his encouragement of artistic skill, resulted in an immense development not only of ecclesiastical but also of domestic architecture. The connection of William of Wykeham with Edward III., his skill displayed in the restoration of Windsor Castle, and his magnificent structures at Winchester and Oxford, are too well known to be mentioned here.

The corresponding improvement made during this century in domestic architecture, is to be traced in very many examples still existing: for, as might have been expected, the remains of this century are fully as numerous as those of all the preceding centuries together. Among the most important, too, as we might infer was probable from the magnificent splendour and temporal riches of the Church during this century, are the Bishops' Palaces at Wells, Lincoln, St. David's (now in ruins), Southwell, and Norwich. The houses and castles of the nobility built at this period, were very many in number, the finest existing specimens being those of Penshurst, Dacre, Belsay, Nunney, Raby, and several others of lesser note; it may be remarked that while in the centre and south of England, these residences lose something of their military character, still on the Welsh and Scottish frontiers the more military style still prevails. In these parts doubtless during this century as during the preceding one, every Englishman's house was his castle; it is asserted by Mr. Parker that, in the former locality, the walls which surround the fortified manorial residences, were fixed by licence at a minimum of ten feet in height. But in fact, as Mr. Parker observes, the general appearance of a country house, whether of a baron or squire, partook of the castellated character, in its battlements, towers, and drawbridge,\* though on closer examination, the domestic features become more apparent. Even in the more domestic buildings, there is generally some one tower of strength, pierced with loopholes, and surmounted with battlements; while conversely in the stronger fortress, the domestic portions have often a semi-military character;

---

\* A remarkable example of this construction, though dating from the following century, occurs at Hever Castle, in Kent, which belonged to Sir Thomas Boleyn, father of the notorious Anne Boleyn.

so that it becomes no easy task to distinguish between a fortified dwelling-house, and an actual castle or fortress which had habitable parts, such as Carnarvon and Caerphilly castles in Wales, which partake of both characters, though certainly belonging rather to the class of castles than of private houses.

The volume descriptive of the fourteenth century, after a very interesting chapter consisting of remarks on the general features of the domestic architecture of that time, comprises three chapters, devoted respectively to a description of the Hall, the Chambers, and the Offices, with another on the general features of mediæval towns, and closes with two other chapters which give a tolerably complete catalogue of the existing remains in England and on the Continent respectively. We do not observe that the Editor has even attempted to extend his researches to either Scotland or Ireland: but we venture to think that something might be done in the latter country to follow up the field of enquiry which has been already opened by Mr. Archdall. Neither the Catholicity of England, nor the feudal system, as yet, had received a blow in merry England: and so we are prepared to find the same arrangements carried out in the houses of the great with respect to the apartments. The hall consequently, as before, remained the principal feature of the house: but some improvements may be traced in its fittings. Our chief sources of information here are the *Chronicles of Froissart*, the poems of Chaucer, and early metrical ballads and romances, such as "*Piers Plowman*," and "*Sir Bury of Hamptoun*." The hall was often raised above cellars, or vaulted rooms, and paved with stones or tiles; the dais was surrounded with hangings of finer tapestry. A window was opened from the solar to command it, the wooden roof was often richly ornamented with timber work, and on the outside surmounted with an ornamental crest; and the *louvre*,\* or lantern over the centre, still remained for the escape of the smoke from the fire which blazed on the hearth in the middle of the hall: the windows were occasionally glazed with glass, fitted into moveable frames or

---

\* It would seem that no original *louvre* of the fourteenth century is remaining at this day. That on the top of Westminster Hall, however, according to Mr. Parker's account, is an exact copy of the original one erected towards the end of that century.

casements, on account of the scarcity and value of that article; over the screen\* was the gallery for musicians; at either end, occasionally, were inserted in the gables, circular windows, filled with elegant tracery; fire-places were introduced at the sides, surmounted with stone hoods and chimneys; stone lavatories and ornamental sideboards were often inserted in the wall, near the screen, as at Lincoln, and at Dacre Castle; the lower walls of the hall were wainscoted below, and richly painted above, with subjects either of a religious character, or taken from legends of love and chivalry: wooden chairs occasionally supersede the old wooden benches, and among the rich were occasionally covered with cushions; pewter or wooden platters, silver dishes, cups,† and salt-cellar, mazer-bowls of maplewood, with knives and spoons, (for forks were almost unknown, and their use thought a sign of foppery and pride,) fill up the catalogue of furniture of the hall,—unless we take into account the live additions of musicians in the gallery, striking up their merry tunes while the dishes are being carried in, and while business is proceeding at the different tables; and also the universal, and as it would appear, the almost necessary, appendage of a fool to make merriment for the assembled guests. Occasionally, however, we read of graver and more salutary occupations.—“It was an ancient custom,” says Mr. Parker, “among Churchmen, while at meals, to listen to the reading of Holy Scripture, and several ecclesiastical canons enforce attention to this point. Reading at meals soon became common among the laity. Eginhart tells us that the emperor Charlemagne loved to hear some diverting story read to him at table, and king Alfred observed a similar custom. The usage was continued down to a late period: thus, in the statutes given to New College, Oxford, by William of Wykeham, about the year 1380, the scholars, for their recreation, were allowed, in the hall after dinner and supper to entertain themselves with songs and other diversions, and to recite poems, chronicles of the

---

\* The screens were usually of wood. They were called also spurs, spures, or spoeres: in Latin, *sporum*, *esporrum*, or *espurrum*.

† Drinking cups were also made of wood and horn: glass was still a great rarity.

kings, and the wonders of the world. But the romantic and mirthful recitations of the

Jestours that tellen tales  
Both of wepyng and of game,

proved most acceptable to the popular taste."—p. 69.

Next in importance to the hall, in almost all manor-houses and castles of this century, was the chapel, which, though of necessity smaller than the average of parochial churches, yet in plan followed their outline. The chapel generally looked to the east, and had a large eastern window decorated according to the prevailing style, under which stood the altar, with piscina and sedilia for the priests as usual. The body of the chapel was often divided by a sort of gallery into two stories, in each of which was often a fire-place; the upper floor being reserved for the lord and his guests, the latter for the domestics. This practice was continued down to a much more recent date, and clearly originated the position of the tribune which is so frequent in private chapels belonging to Catholic houses at the present day. Frequently the chapel was very small, and consisted only of a sacarium, shut off from the hall or other adjoining apartment, by a door, window, or screen, as at Chepstow, Little Wenham, and Lyte's Carey House; and besides the regular chapel, there were frequently common oratories in the houses. Sometimes we find instances in small chambers at the top of a turret, as at Chepstow and Brougham castles, and attached to the chapel were generally two rooms for the priest who served as chaplain. Of the chamber which is so frequently mentioned in the Liberate Rolls, and other ancient documents, as the oriol, oriole, or oriel, Mr. Parker gives the following account, which may serve as a specimen of the method in which he treats the subjects which respectively come under his notice.

"The exact meaning of the word has long been a question: Dr. Copleston wrote a learned essay upon it, (which is printed in Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua*, vol. ii.) in which he inclined to the opinion that it signified the porch or entrance with a chapel over it. Dr. Ingram was of opinion that it was an abbreviation of the word *Oratorium*, and signified the private oratory; and various entries in the Liberate Rolls give countenance to this opinion. But it had also another meaning connected with this, although not exactly identical. In our description of the chapel, we have shown that it

was commonly divided into two stories by a floor; the upper one being open at the east end to the chancel, which was the entire height of the building. These two rooms, which may be called the upper and lower parts of the nave of the chapel, were not exclusively devoted to sacred purposes. They were separated from the chancel by a screen, which could be closed by wooden shutters, or by a curtain, and they contained fire-places. The upper room was called the *oriole*, and it frequently formed a sort of landing-place, or waiting-room outside the door of the principal chamber."—p. 82.

The instances—(and they are twelve in number)—quoted from the liberate rolls by Mr. Parker, in support of this opinion, are certainly reconcileable with it, and with no other. On the other hand, it is quite clear, as Mr. Parker shows from other sources, that the word *oriel* is sometimes applied to other parts of the building, such as to a "parvise" or chamber over the porch; and in one instance to the minstrels' gallery in the hall; Matthew Paris indeed uses the word more loosely still, as equivalent to a refectory, "in Refectorio vel Oriolo;" and again, he speaks of "Atrium nobilissimum in introitu, quod Porticus vel Oriolum appellatur."

Of the solar we have already spoken; so we will only add, that when the use of fire-places and chimneys became more general, and ideas of comforts grew stronger, the custom, which we have mentioned, of the whole family dining together, as a family, in the common hall, was gradually abandoned, and the lord and his nearer relatives began to adopt the practice of dining privately in the solar. It is probable, however, that on Sundays and greater days the common table was spread, as of old, in the hospitable hall. Mr. Parker attributes this change to increased refinement; we should rather incline to refer it to an increasing forgetfulness of the fact that all the household are one family, and that all the family are equal in the sight of God. We should add, that in the larger houses, besides the lord's solar, and communicating with it, was the lady's chamber or bower; the attendants were lodged in the turrets, and the apartments for guests were in the towers. The bed chambers, as well as the hall, were very frequently used as places wherein kings and nobles received their courtiers, held councils, and granted audiences. Tables and chairs of this period are both very rare, and are only known by the illustrations of contemporary MSS.,

though the family plate sometimes was displayed on an oaken sideboard; the parlours, too, were commonly covered with wainscot below and painted on the upper walls with scenes from popular romances, &c. The bed-chamber would seem to have been in proportion far more comfortable, often fitted up with baths; the besteads being frequently covered with a tester or canopy, and hung round with embroidered tapestry; the walls, too, being painted and the windows glazed. The counterpanes, or coverlets, the blankets and sheets are also mentioned in contemporary ballads and romances in a way which certainly implies a considerable advance upon the preceding century. Clocks, too, are first mentioned in this century as articles of domestic furniture. And candlesticks of a handsome pattern in silver, and even in gold, were in frequent use among the rich. From the great difficulty of travelling, it is clear that large and commodious wardrobes must have been necessary; these were often small rooms adjoining the dais of the hall and situated under the solar. Answering to the wardrobe in its modern signification were large chests, often ornamented with very handsome paneling and carving, among which the sacred monograms of our Blessed Lord and our Lady are very frequently conspicuous.

The offices of the larger houses were generally on a very large scale. First and foremost among them stood the kitchen; noble specimens of these kitchens remain, not only at Fontevrault, as we have mentioned before,\* but also at Durham, Glastonbury, and Chichester; these are well-known to antiquaries, and have been often engraved. That in the ancient palace of St. David's is now in ruins, but its arrangement is still clearly to be traced. The very noble specimen formerly existing at Penshurst Castle, Kent, has been removed within the last few years. The kitchen was generally of a square or octagon form, detached from the house, and connected with it by means of a covered passage or alley from the screen. It is clear, however, from contemporary illustrated MSS. that the cooking was often carried on in the open air; an illustration from the MS. Romance of Alexander in the Bodleian library, Oxford, is given by Mr. Parker. The process is

---

\* See above page 33.



going on evidently in the front of an inn, over the door of which is hung out the sign of the cross crosslet.

We much regret that want of space forbids us attempt to follow Mr. Parker through all his detailed account of the other domestic offices, larder, scullery, buttery, pantry, &c., or the more remote parts of the barns and stables, and the carriage department of five centuries ago. For these, and for various other interesting accounts, as to the condition of the wards, the mills, and the sanitary condition of the gard-robcs or privy chambers, we must refer our readers to the volume itself.

The concluding chapter on mediæval towns is perhaps, after all, the one which will afford the greatest interest to the Catholic reader; and we cannot but be glad that Mr. Parker has supplied us with such full details on the subject. Like a wise and prudent king, Edward I. was well aware of the great advantages which trade and commerce would reap from the establishment of such towns on advantageous sites; to say nothing of the check which they presented to the excessive power of the landed nobility in various parts; and, accordingly, he founded many of them in his continental provinces of Aquitaine and Guienne; in England there are two only such towns, Winchilsea and Kingston upon Hull. Each of these was built upon a fixed and settled plan, and duly fortified; Hull remains to this day a flourishing seaport town; but Winchilsea, owing to the retreating of the sea, choking up the inlet and harbour which had once made it one of the most prosperous of seaports, and given to it an almost entire monopoly of the trade in foreign wines, had fallen into decay so early as the reign of Elizabeth, and is now a desolate village, with a population of 700 souls, without trade or manufactures, though its noble gateways are still standing in solitary grandeur, bearing their silent witness to its former importance.

These towns were unlike such ancient Roman towns as Chester, Colchester, or Lincoln; they differed much from those ancient cities which had grown up by degrees around an ancient castle, as at Norwich, or under the shadow of an Abbey, as at Bury St. Edmund's. They were built regularly and symmetrically, with a specific end and object in view, and afford an excellent plan for imitation by those who are laying out lands for building on an extensive scale. "They combined," as Mr. Parker observes, "very close



packing with great convenience, while the principal streets were wide open and straight, crossing each other at right angles only." The streets were alternately wide and narrow; the latter serving the purposes of a mews and also for draining off the surface water. Near the centre of the town was a vacant spot set apart as the market-place, planted often with trees, at one corner of which stood the church, and near it the market-house. These free towns were endowed by the sovereigns with most valuable privileges and exemptions, and played a very important part in the advancement of civilization in Europe. The burgesses were all free men, and held by direct tenure under the crown; and they possessed the immunity of free trade. The site of the town of Winchilsea was divided into forty equal square allotments, thirty-nine of which can be distinguished at the present day. Upon the continent, among the towns built upon this plan are Villefranche de Rovertgne, Libourne, Molieres, Sainte Foy, and many others.

Slightly different from these free towns would seem to have been another class which had their origin in the old Teutonic institution of guilds or fraternities, to which Mr. Parker is not mistaken in assigning an origin at once social and religious. Small at first in numbers and importance as the guilds must have been, the principle of voluntary association for religious and social benefits would naturally be very readily extended: and communities sworn together to assist each man his brother in cases of fraud or violence, bound by the sacred and holy ties of common rites and devotions, were too much in harmony with the Catholic spirit of the times, and we may add with that of true religion, not to have been fostered under the maternal wings of the Church, and so to have become a most important element in the social system of mediæval Europe. The most remarkable instance of the progress of a city from a mere merchant guild to a great metropolis is to be found in the history of Paris. It is observed by Mr. Parker that the metropolis of England most probably had a similar origin, and that while no traces of Roman institutions are impressed upon its early history, it is a striking fact that the principal place of meeting for the citizens of London is known to this day as the Guild Hall. These guilds were not confined to the large towns, but there was one at least, if not more, in almost every parish and village; the hall belonging to them was generally

some timber building near the church, very frequently over the lich gate. Stowe mentions one or two guilds in almost every London church. They were of three kinds, municipal, commercial, and religious, or charitable. The first of these three kinds frequently became incorporated by royal charter, and was charged with the local government; the second became the foundation of the more modern denomination of "Companies," while the third continued down to the Reformation, and then perished in the extinction of the Catholic religion which had borne them.\* Mr. Parker correctly derives the term Guild from the Anglo-Saxon word *Gildan* to pay or contribute;† but he is little acquainted with what is now going on in this country when he asserts that "the word guild is now becoming obsolete in its original sense, and is only known by its continuing to denominate the halls or places of meeting in which these confraternities used to assemble on public occasions." Even our Anglican friends at Leeds and elsewhere have made some efforts to restore them; and the revival of the religious guilds among the Catholic body is already begun, and in a few years they will be seen to bear fruit in the shape of definite and tangible results.

It will be observed that in the above remark we have contented ourselves with treating the volumes of Mr. Turner and Mr. Parker solely in an archæological point of view, without a hint as to the possibility of turning them to any object of practical utility in the nineteenth century. But we cannot help, in conclusion, quoting some expressions by the late Mr. Pugin, which bear directly upon the subject, and show the view in which he regarded it,—without, however, pledging ourselves to a perfect agreement in

\* Blomfield, in his history of Norfolk, vol. iii., makes mention of two guilds at Oxburgh, in that county. "These guilds," he says, "gave annual charity stipends to poor persons, found beds and entertainment for poor people that were strangers, and had people to keep and tend the same beds, and did other works of charity... The houses on the south side of the church at Oxburgh, belonged to one of the guilds, and is called in old writings the Guild Hall; on the east side was another, that belonged to the guild of Corpus Christi, the ceilings being painted with the portraiture of our Saviour, the five wounds, &c., as may be observed to this day."

† Similar confraternities seem to have existed at Athens in the early ages. Hence the phrase *συντελεῖν*, *συντελής*, &c. &c. See Soph. Œd. *ἀστὸς εἰς ἀστοὺς τελεῶ*.

all that he says. In this apology for the revival of Christian architecture in England, he writes thus :

"It will not be difficult to show that the wants and purposes of civil buildings are now almost identical with those of our English forefathers. In the first place, climate, which necessarily regulates the pitch of roof, light, warmth, and internal arrangement, remains of course precisely the same as formerly. Secondly, we are governed by nearly the same laws and the same system of political economy. The sovereign with the officers of state connected with the crown,—the houses of peers and commons, the judges of the various courts of law, and forms of trial,—the titles and rank of our nobility,—the tenures by which their lands are held, and the privileges which they enjoy—the corporate bodies and civic functionaries are all essentially the same as in former days. There is no country which has preserved so much of her ancient system as England. We still see the grey tower of the parochial church rising by the side of the manorial house; and in many instances the chantry chapel still remains, with a long succession of family monuments, from the armed crusader to that of the parent of the actual possessor."

Then, after some remarks on the splendour and beauty of the royal palaces at Windsor and Westminster, restored according to the ancient model, he continues :

"How painful is it to behold in the centre of a fine old English park and vast domain, a square unsightly mass of bastard Italian, without one impression of the faith, family, or country of the owner ! How contrary to the spirit of the ancient mansions, covered with ancestral badges and memorials, and harmonizing in beautiful irregularity with the face of nature ! Any modern invention which conduces to comfort, cleanliness, and durability, should be adopted by the consistent architect : to copy a thing merely because it is old, is just as absurd as the imitations of the modern pagans. Our domestic architecture should have a peculiar expression illustrative of our manners and habits ; as the castle merged into the baronial mansion, so may it be modified to suit actual necessities, and the smaller houses which the present state of society has generated, should possess a peculiar character : they are only objectionable when made to appear diminutive representations of larger structures. And it is not only possible, but easy, to work on the same consistent principles as our ancestors in the direction of all our domestic buildings. It would be absurd, with our present resources, to build wooden houses in towns, which originated with the superabundance of that material, and the difficulty of transporting stone or brick ; but brick fronts adapted perfectly to internal conveniences, and in accordance with the legal provision for town buildings, may be

erected, which are capable of producing an excellent effect, if consistently treated, and terminated by the natural form of the gable.

"There is no reason in the world why noble cities, combining every possible convenience of drainage, water-closets, and conveyance of gas, may not be erected in the most consistent, yet Christian character. Every building that is naturally treated without disguise or concealment, cannot fail to look well. If our present domestic buildings, were only designed in accordance with their actual purposes, they would appear equally picturesque with the old ones. Each edifice would tell its own tale, and by diversity of character, contribute to the grand effect of the whole."—pp. 37—39.

One word in conclusion as to Ireland by way of suggestion. We cannot but think that, in spite of the disastrous consequences of the civil wars from which Ireland has so long suffered, the domestic architecture of that country might furnish the material for a separate volume. It is true, that for the most part the castles and baronial residences of Ireland, have been erected on a smaller scale than here in England, and that very many of the older edifices have been gutted and destroyed, or so restored as to retain but scanty vestiges of their ancient internal arrangements. Many of these have been thus disfigured in our own times. Kilkenny castle was the most venerable and perfect, perhaps, of all, before it was rebuilt by the late Marquis of Ormonde. Antrim castle is a moated house with a curious antique shrubbery, though it has been rebuilt in a modern style, and so much altered and added to, that although the foundations are of great antiquity, there is no part standing of earlier date than the sixteenth century, if we except the massive vaulting of the basement-story, which may possibly be of the twelfth. Within the memory of persons now living, the moat remained in its original state, and several isolated buildings, such as the prison, still existed within the *enceinte*. Of small fortalices, towers, &c., there is a great abundance, and of various periods. There are also many fortified abbeys, but these are for the most part in a bad state of preservation. The old parish church of St. Sylvester, now in ruins, adjoining the castle of Malahide, contains the remains of a priest's house on the South side of the chancel: it is entered by a staircase from the exterior, like many fourteenth century examples given by Mr. Parker. Ancient town-houses are very rare: Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, formerly consisted of a curious assemblage of fortified houses be-

longing to the different branches of the house of Desmond, but very little of it now remains. Galway has some very curious houses, of a foreign type and character, but they are of the sixteenth century at the furthest. One of the most interesting remains of domestic architecture in Ireland, and most characteristic of the period, is Dowth Castle, near Drogheda, now the residence of a religious community, but formerly one of the seats of the Viscounts Netterville; it must formerly have been one of the finest specimens of an old Irish baronial residence. We cannot but hope that the ancient remains of domestic architecture in Ireland and Scotland may hereafter form the subject of a separate volume. In Mr. Parker's hands the work would be sure to meet with the treatment which it deserves.

---

ART. III.—*The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Second Edition. London: J. and C. Mozley, 1853.

MOST of our readers have read—or if not, they ought to read—an amusing and instructive paper on Anglican “Church Parties,” which has lately excited some amount of public attention, and which its author, Mr. Conybeare, has reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review*, in which it first appeared. If so, they will be at no loss under what head of division to place Archdeacon Wilberforce, were it only on account of the very active part which he has taken for these many years past in the controversies which have most recently distracted and still distract the English Church; we mean, of course, the “Gorham Case,” and the agitation for “Synodal Action.” Some of our readers, also, may possibly know something of the Archdeacon from his former treatises on “Holy Baptism,” and on “the Doctrine of the Incarnation,” each of which have already excited much controversy in that communion, as the most bold and venturous efforts hitherto made to build up for it a system

of theology upon some solid and substantial basis of objective truth. These volumes and the one whose title stands prefixed to these remarks, cannot and ought not to be judged apart; they are, in reality, a three-volumed treatise, whose end is to fix authoritatively the Creed of the Anglican Church, to identify it with primitive antiquity, and to base it upon a strictly Catholic tradition, independent of local and accidental circumstances. It may be remembered that Dr. Newman and his friends made a similar effort in the earlier Tracts for the Times; but they failed in the attempt. And if we venture to think that Archdeacon Wilberforce is destined to experience a similar failure in a like effort of his own, (able and excellent as it is,) we allude to such a thought here as a matter of hopefulness and thankfulness, and only because it is our earnest wish and prayer that he may conquer by failure, and that his labours may be crowned with the same issue and reward that has already fallen to Dr. Newman's lot.

Archdeacon Wilberforce, then, is, in a word, the leader of theological enquiry, and the most philosophical exponent of the views of the High Church Anglican school in its purest and best development, just as Dr. Pusey is of its devotional phase. The Scriptural and Patristic learning exhibited in the Archdeacon's two former treatises, (though accompanied with many defects when viewed from a Catholic point of sight,) won for him golden opinions and the warmest gratitude of his party, at the time when theological strife was running at its highest on the Baptismal question; and we feel justified in saying that with all their shortcomings and defects,\* (for which, not the Archdeacon, of course, but his Church's system is responsible,)—they contain a vast fund of ancient learning, which beautifully illustrates some of the most important

---

\* We allude, more especially, of course, to the fact, that in a Theological treatise on the Incarnation, there is no chapter devoted to a consideration of the share which our Blessed Lady took in bringing about that chief of all mysteries. This fact, however, may be explained by a passage in the present treatise on the Holy Eucharist, where the Archdeacon strangely says, "In the Incarnation manhood was purely passive, and the Godhead the sole actor. The union of the two natures was brought about, not by both, but by the Deity alone."—p. 148, Second Edition. (We may observe that we refer to this Edition throughout.)



doctrines of the Catholic Church, and at the same time crushes the whole Protestant system into atoms, by showing how infidel are its tendencies, results, and consequences. In this sense, we may say, as Catholics, that the Archdeacon's Treatises on the Incarnation, and on Holy Baptism, have been productive of the greatest service in preparing the minds of Anglican theologians to accept a fuller and more consistent statement of the Catholic Faith.

It is a remark of Mr. Conybeare in the essay above quoted, that the two principles of Apostolical succession and of Church authority, which are involved in the teaching of the Anglo-Catholic party, "may be made after all to mean but little," and that, when "veiled in a graceful mist of words, they may even become an ornamental and dignified appendage to a system essentially Protestant." However, this assertion may be true of some individuals, even of the extreme party, it is most unfounded as regards Mr. Wilberforce. On the contrary, though he is far from writing polemically, and though a harsh and bitter expression against individuals never escapes his pen, the definite dogmatic element is continually peeping out; and yet there is no reserve or misty equivocation about him; he is not disposed to mince matters or to soften down truths to a palatable consistency; he seems for ever reaching after a system of objective truth on which he can in confidence repose, but which for ever keeps eluding his eager grasp, just as the shores of Italy seemed for ever distant to Æneas and his companions of old:

*"Italix fugientes prendimus oras."*

With these few remarks by way of preface, we will at once proceed to the book itself, which forms the subject of our present remarks, and which is somewhat satirically designated by the Guardian newspaper as "a work very much needed in the English Church." Whether such be the case or no, will be incidentally shown to our readers before we bring our remarks to a close.

The following extract from the "Introduction," will explain the scope and tendency of the work itself better than any words of our own.

"The present work is the sequel of a treatise on 'the Doctrine of the Incarnation,' which was published four years ago. It was



there asserted that '*Sacraments are the extension of the Incarnation*,' and a chapter was devoted to their consideration. But their relation to that great mystery was felt from the first to require more detailed consideration. The Doctrine of the Incarnation, therefore, was followed after a year by a work on '*the Doctrine of Holy Baptism*;' and the present treatise completes my design. In treating on Baptism, little reference was made to any authorities except Holy Scripture, and the formularies and divines of our own Church.....In the present instance, a different course has been adopted. The greater intricacy of the subject, and the confusion in which it has been involved by the adoption of an ambiguous phraseology, has made it necessary to mount up to the fountain head, and to enquire what was that interpretation of our Lord's words which was received among His first followers.....Such is the principle which is adopted in the present volume. The authority of Holy Scripture is just referred to, and its infallible decision set forth. When its meaning is disputed, reference is made to the primitive Fathers, as providing the best means of settling the dispute."

Now, although, as Catholics, we are bound to hold that where Holy Scripture is undecided or apparently ambiguous, the appeal lies not to the dead past, but to the living present—to the Church of the day in which God has been pleased to cast our lot, and not the Church of the first, or the fourth, or the seventh century,—or of whatever other period we choose to take as our standard of ideal excellence, still we cannot but rejoice to find Mr. Wilberforce establishing the whole system of Catholic doctrine with respect to the Holy Eucharist as at present received by the Church in communion with the see of Rome, by an appeal to the testimony of the earliest ages of the Church—to times anterior to the unhappy schism of Photius, which rent the fair provinces of the East from the unity of Christendom. And we may rejoice for this reason: not because it adds everything to the firmness of that faith with which we, as Catholics, repose on the present decisions of a living infallible guide,—but because the results at which the Archdeacon has arrived by patient research and dispassionate enquiry, cut away from under the feet of ordinary High Church Anglicans, the common ground of assault against us, and the strong point of their own defence; viz, that while we have departed from the simplicity of the early ages, and the purity of their faith, they have themselves retained, or rather have regained, the faith as it was held by the immediate successors of the

Apostles. The following words sum up the general outline of the treatise in a brief and compendious way.

"Whether Christ is truly present or not in the Holy Eucharist: whether we are to believe as though He were really with us, and are truly responsible for a divine gift: and again, whether in that holy ordinance there is a real Sacrifice—there are, in a great measure, practical questions on which it is possible to produce distinct evidence from Scripture, and the Primitive Church.....That Christ's presence in the Holy Eucharist is a real presence: that the blessings of the new life are truly bestowed in it through communion with the second Adam: that consecration is a real act, whereby the inward part or thing signified, is joined to the outward and visible sign; and that the Eucharistic oblation is a real sacrifice;—these points it will be attempted to prove, by the testimony of Scripture, and of the ancient Fathers."—Introduction, pp. 5, 6.

Such being the case, our readers will now be prepared to expect a treatise falling little, if at all, short of the dogmatic statements of the Council of Trent upon the subject of the Holy Eucharist: the more so, if they remember that on the occasion of that council being held, the writings of the ancient fathers of the Church were most scrupulously and carefully examined by the prelates, who drew up their dogmatic statements in opposition to the novelties of the Protestant schism: so that it is no wonder to find Mr. Wilberforce, in his honest and single-hearted search after God's system of revealed truth, being led by grace to accept those very same conclusions which His Holy Spirit dictated to the Fathers assembled at Trent, three hundred years ago. The marvel would be, if there were any material variation between them, especially since our author has evidently, (though perhaps unconsciously,) allowed the dogmatical teaching of the Council of Trent to have considerable influence upon the matter of his statements, and his manner of expression.

The first chapter of the book, accordingly, takes as it were, for its text, the solemn words of Institution used by our Blessed Lord on the night in which He was betrayed,—"This is my body," and then proceeds to consider the sentence in its logical connection of subject, copula, and predicate. The Archdeacon then shows that by the word "this," our Lord speaks only of "this" which was then consecrated or set apart; and comparing the

passage under consideration with the well-known parallel example from St. Paul, (1 Corinth. xii.) he rightly concludes that "our Lord's awful words do not refer to bread and wine at large, but to That which He held in His hands, and what He had blessed." The quotations from Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and S. Augustine, by which he supports his inference, are apposite and convincing, as proving the importance which was attached to the simple act of consecration in those early times to which the Anglicans are in the habit of appealing with such fatal confidence. A further quotation from S. Chrysostom shows that the right of consecration was believed in the early Church to be inherent in the Christian Priesthood, and in it alone. The following passages will not, we think, be welcomed by many of those who appeal with such reliance to the first two centuries as making so directly in their favour.

"From the first origin, therefore, of the Christian Church it was laid down, that no valid Eucharist could be had, where there was no priest to consecrate. In the earliest of all uninspired Christian documents, the Epistle of St. Clement, the office of the Priest is described as that of presenting the Eucharistic Offering. In the next writer, St. Ignatius, the validity of the Eucharist is expressly limited to those who act by Episcopal commission. Then comes the Apology of Justin, stating that the 'principal minister offered the Eucharist.' This is fully confirmed by Tertullian, though some equivocal expressions of his have been cited as having a different sense. The Holy Eucharist, he says, was not received except from the hands of the Church's public ministers. And he speaks of it as characteristic of heretics, that they assigned priestly offices to laymen."—pp. 10—11.

"In the Apostolical Constitutions, the thing demanded for one who was called to the highest office in the ministry was that he 'might have authority to offer the pure and bloodless victim, which Thou hast appointed through Christ as the mystery of the new covenant;' and the ground on which the Priesthood is entitled to the reverence of the people is said to be, 'because they honour you with the saving Body, and the precious Blood, and release you from your sins, and make you partakers of the sacred and Holy Eucharist.'"—p. 12.

But here our author is met by an obvious difficulty. If the Anglican ritual attests the necessity of a consecration, how comes this matter not to have been more prominently put forward by its divines? He admits that the importance of consecration has been but little dwelt upon by

English theologians, and that the English people do not measure the efficacy of that sacrament by the validity of the Priestly consecration. Now we must observe, that, in our opinion, the answer of Archdeacon Wilberforce to this question is far from satisfactory; and we cannot think that, upon further consideration, he will consider it at all an adequate reply.

"The reason may probably be found in the popular unwillingness to break altogether with the foreign Protestants. For the Protestant bodies, with the succession of the ministry, had lost all value for that act of consecration, which is never found to be permanently appreciated, when men have renounced the ministerial commission, which is essential to its reality. Hence it was felt that to dwell upon this point as indispensable, would be to renounce all connexion with those communities.

"In those days men were not prepared to draw such conclusions respecting the necessity of adhering at all hazards to the principles of the ancient Church, as the course of events, and the progress of infidel opinions, have since forced upon all Catholic Christians. So that, in assigning to consecration the place awarded to it by the teaching of Scripture and the testimony of Primitive antiquity, we are not forsaking the principles of our own Church, but only bringing out those truths, which the circumstances of a former generation withheld it from expressing."—p. 16.

The example which he gives of Bishop Cosin doubting the validity of a Puritan sacrament at Geneva, or elsewhere, is most unfortunate; because, as we learn from other sources, that prelate, though he could write on the subject of the Holy Eucharist with a certain appearance of a Catholic tone, still was a person who viewed the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as held by the Catholic Church (and by the Archdeacon too), as superstitious and idolatrous, and habitually received the Communion from the hands of foreign Protestants, not episcopally ordained, when he went abroad.\*

---

\* It is curious that Cosin was a predecessor of Mr. Wilberforce in his Archdeaconry of the East Riding. The following extract from Cosin's will is one which will justify the assertion which we make in the text. "Moreover I do profess, with holy asseveration, and from my very heart, that I am now, and ever have been from my youth, altogether free and averse from the corruption and impertinent new-fangled, or papistical superstitions and doctrines, long since introduced, contrary to the Holy Scripture, and the

But we must pass on. The design of the next chapter is to show that after, and by reason of, consecration, the blessing bestowed, whatever it may be, is conveyed *through* the elements. In this chapter the Archdeacon has shown great skill and power in discriminating between *moral* and *physical* media; and he has followed Estius, and other learned doctors of the Church, in explaining that the sacraments are *moral* instruments, whereby divine blessings are conveyed to us.

"When we speak of sacraments as moral instruments, we are merely discriminating between the order of grace, and the order of nature; we affirm that sacraments pertain to the first, whereas those things which are called physical instruments, belong to the second. For it has pleased God that the whole material creation should obey a certain set of laws, which are called the laws of nature. Every individual object, therefore, has its peculiar dimensions, bulk, and qualities; and by virtue of these does each act upon the others, in a certain uniform and appreciable course. The only exception would seem to be those responsible beings, to whom the Great Author has given that power of spontaneous action, which renders them in this respect an image of Himself. Hence it is that we are able to speak of the permanence of the laws of nature, and can calculate upon the regularity of their defects. And this we do, without implying that they are independent of the will of God, or can produce their effects without His co-operation.

"But in sacraments the order followed is not that of nature, but a higher one, which is referrible to the immediate interference of Almighty God. As a king might govern his dominions by unalterable laws, without laying down such general rules in his own family, so the gifts which the Most High bestows through sacraments in the household of faith, are regulated by a different law from those which are bestowed in the kingdom of nature. In the last there is nothing which to our observation betrays His interference; He allows things to move on according to the invariable law of

---

rules and customs of the ancient Fathers. But in what part of the world soever any Churches are extant, bearing the name of Christ, and professing the true Catholic faith and religion, worshipping and calling upon God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with one heart and voice, if I be now hindered actually to join with them, either by distance of countries, or variances amongst men, or by any hindrance whatsoever, yet always in my mind and affection I join and unite with them; *which I desire to be chiefly understood by Protestants and the best reformed Churches.*"—(Life of Cosin, Ecclesiastical Biography, edited by Hook, vol. iv., p. 191.)

physical causation : but the means which are employed in the first, derive their whole efficacy from His continual intervention. It is not meant, then, that sacraments are less certain in their effects than physical agents ; nor yet that their *reality* depend upon those circumstances in their receivers, which are essential to their *utility*. But they are called moral instruments, because they derive their validity from the immediate appointment of Him, who acts in common according to that law, which He has imposed upon the material creation ; because they belong to the order of grace, and not to the order of nature."—pp. 18--19.

The next point touched upon is the twofold heresy of Zuinglius and Calvin with respect to that Holy Sacrament, for which the latter professed to cherish such feelings of reverence. Mr. Wilberforce shows that there are three conceivable ways in which a gift may be important ; firstly, " from its own intrinsic value ;" secondly, " from the disposition of the receiver ;" and thirdly, as " expressive of the intention of the giver." Now, applying this principle to the gift bestowed upon us by God in the Holy Eucharist, it is easy enough to identify the first of these ways with the teaching of the Catholic Church for the first fifteen centuries, viz., that the Holy Eucharist was to be revered for Its own sake, as the appointed means of conveying to man the Body and Blood of his Redeemer. " Zuinglius, however," says our author, " adopted the second alternative ; he maintained that the significance of the gift was derived entirely from the receiver : " the Holy Eucharist," he said, " was not the communication of any objective gift, but merely a mode of giving expression to our own subjective feelings ;" and thus, in his opinion, the only use of the ordinance itself comes to be to associate the feelings of men with the past actions of our Saviour. Calvin, however, with his usual wiliness, adopted the third alternative, because it enabled him to do justice in words to the importance of the sacrament, without admitting the necessity of any regular consecration. According to Calvin, the sacraments in general, and the Eucharist in particular, are mere seals or tokens of grace already given ; and, as if this were not to degrade God's gifts enough, he limited them to his 'elect' alone ; thus throwing men back upon his dark and gloomy doctrine of reprobation. The Archdeacon, in the conclusion of this chapter, establishes the first of the above three theories indirectly, by proving the absurdities which result from the other two.



Of Calvin's system, and its influence in England, he remarks thus :

"It would be idle to deny that his theory on the sacraments has exercised a large influence upon our own writers. It could hardly be otherwise, considering that his Institutes were a text-book for nearly a century ; and considering the attractions of a system which promised a security against the abuses of a carnal interpretation, without detracting from that mysterious reverence with which this sacrament had always been regarded. Hence, many of his expressions passed unconsciously into the circulation of the English Church. The notion that the elements are mere *seals* or *title-deeds*, and not the instruments through which Christ's Presence is dispensed—that is, that they are *pledges* only of an absent, and not *media* of a present gift—was adopted, in ignorance that this theory was inconsistent with that principle of consecration which still retained its place in our formularies ; and that to be a substitute for a belief in consecration, had been the very purpose of its introduction.

"The consequences of the system developed themselves in time in England, as they had done in those countries where Calvinism was formerly established. No sooner did the dogma of an absolute decree sink, through its inherent unpopularity, than Zuinglius was found to have entered through the door which had been opened by Calvin."—pp: 36—37.

Having thus disproved the two rival theories of Zuinglius and Calvin, Mr. Wilberforce proceeds in chapter iii. to consider the positive testimony of the ancient Church to the effects of consecration. Perhaps to our Catholic readers this chapter will be the most interesting in the whole volume. He shows that for proofs of the Church's belief in the reality of consecration we have no liturgical documents in existence which will carry us further back than the end of the seventh century. And though one or two palimpsests have been discovered of a date considerably more early, (possibly reaching to that of the Diocletian persecution), we find a more complete proof of the ancient belief where one might least have expected to find it, viz., in a comparison of the liturgical documents of the Eastern schismatics, who have been severed from the Church since A. D. 431 and 451, with the ancient Liturgies of the East and West. Of course it is quite clear, that wherever these two bodies of liturgical forms agree, we have the very safest and surest proof as to the antiquity of a point of belief ; since the absence of all intercourse between those bodies and the Catholic Church for upwards of fourteen

hundred years, proves that whatever they have in common is of earlier date, to say the least, than their separation, and very probably carries its antiquity up into the Apostolic age. Now, according to Mr. Wilberforce, "that which is found to be the essential characteristic of all ancient Liturgies,—the very purpose which not only speaks in their individual expressions, but gives shape and consistency to their whole arrangements,—is, that they represent a certain transaction, a certain course of events, of which the crisis and consummation is that which is *done* in respect to the sacred elements themselves." Accordingly he shows, that whereas in the commencement of the Mass, as it stands in the various Liturgies of antiquity, we find every possible variation, as soon as we come to the repetition of the words of Institution in the Canon of the Mass, we find the most striking sameness of expression. Even "the multiplied introduction of the Spanish and Gallic forms fall back into the appointed canon or order, so soon as the solemn words recur 'Who in the same night in which He suffered,' 'Qui pridie quam pateretur,' &c. Throughout all the churches founded by the Apostles, the exact repetition of those words which our Lord had originally uttered, were supposed essential to the consecration of the Eucharist; and hence in all Liturgies, with the smallest possible exception, they are found to be identical." As for the antiquity of these Liturgies, it should be added, that the two Liturgies which bear the names of St. James and St. Mark respectively, form a basis for all other Eastern Liturgies; the former having been introduced into the Church of Cæsarea in a revised form by St. Basil about A. D. 370 or 380, while its basis turns out to be identical with that of the Syriac Liturgy, which goes by the same name, and which has been preserved among the Monophysites or Syrian Jacobites, since their separation from the Church fourteen centuries ago, as we said above.

The number and variety of these Liturgies, each of which offer their independent testimony to the sacred doctrine of the reality of the Eucharistic consecration, is most surprising; and the short summary of them given by Mr. Wilberforce, will be most welcome reading to Catholics in general who are interested in the study of Christian antiquities. Taking as a basis the two main families of Eastern Liturgies, namely, those of Jerusalem and Alexandria,

he brings forward in turn the forty Syriac forms derived from the former, together with those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, which were modifications of it, and illustrates them by one Armenian and by three Nestorian Liturgies. Next in turn come three Coptic and ten Ethiopic Liturgies, all derived from that of Alexandria, which bears the name of the Evangelist St. Mark. Then follows that of Rome, better known as the Liturgy of St. Peter, which was in use in the Church of Rome in the age of Leo the Great. The Spanish Liturgy, and three varieties of the Gallic Liturgy, swell the list of independent testimonies to the number of seventy in all; sixty-two of which are of Eastern and eight of Western origin. Now all of these speak, as we have said, the same language; declaring, as with one voice, that the work commenced by our Lord in the upper chamber at the Last Supper, and consummated upon the cross on Calvary, He still continues to execute now that He is in heaven, through the ministry of His priests, who severally perform, not their own action, but the perpetuation of that priesthood of Melchisedech which their Great Head, at once the Victim and the Priest, was pleased to take upon Himself; that it is Jesus Christ Himself who, through the agency of His priests, sanctifies the offering on the altar; in a word, that He who is invoked is Himself the consecrator.

The following contrast between the practice of the ancient Church and of modern heretical bodies is admirably drawn.

“To this principle, then, the ancient Church bore witness, not only by its words, but still more by its actions. The care with which the words of consecration were repeated, implied a belief that they were essential to the validity of some great action. And if so, it must have been this action itself, and that with which it was conversant, on which the value of the ordinance depended. Its importance must have rested, not merely on a consideration of the Giver or receiver, but likewise on the worth of the thing received. The gift conferred in and through the elements themselves must have been the thing regarded. Nothing renders this more apparent than a comparison of the ancient forms with any of those which were introduced under the influence of Zuinglius or Calvin. In the ancient Liturgies the words of Consecration were quoted literally, and not in the way of narration: they were made part of a prayer, and the people were enjoined to answer, Amen. But in the Calvinistic formularies this prayer is changed into a

sermon ; and instead of a mystical action addressed to God, we have a narration for the instruction of the congregation."—p. 55.

"Here then we see the exact contrast between the ancient and modern services. The first suppose Christ to descend through the agency of His Spirit upon earth : the last suppose men to ascend through the action of their spirits into heaven. In the first, Christ is supposed to bestow an actual gift, which men may either accept or reject, and which is equally bestowed upon all. According to the last, no gift at all is bestowed through the ordinance itself ; it is only an emblem of the general good-will of the great Spiritual Being."—p. 60.

An objection has often been drawn by Protestant writers against the dogmatic statements of the Church with regard to the Holy Eucharist, from the fact that the early Fathers are comparatively silent as to the precise character of the change which takes place in the elements by and through consecration. Mr. Wilberforce answers this objection most properly, by attributing it to the *disciplina arcani*, and the unwillingness of the ancient Fathers to expose sacred subjects to the profaneness of the heathen. His quotations, therefore, from the Catechetical Lectures of St. Ambrose, St. Cyril, St. Gregory Nyssenus, and St. Gaudentius, are on this account the more valuable testimonies to the truth as held of old. But what is the lesson, we ask, that such passages of St. Cyril as the following, taken out of the Oxford translation of St. Cyril's Catechetical Lectures, and quoted therefrom by Mr. Wilberforce, ought in consistency to teach those excellent individuals who appeal to the Fathers of the first three or four centuries, and yet are forced by their Church to disavow, and that in no very measured terms, the self-same doctrine as now held, taught, and enforced by the Holy See on all members of her communion?

"The bread in the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is mere bread no longer, but the body of Christ."—(3 Myst. Cat. Oxford Tr., p. 268.) "Contemplate, therefore, the bread and wine not as bare elements ; for they are, according to the Lord's declaration, the body and blood of Christ ; for though sense suggests this to thee, let faith stablish thee. Judge not the matter from taste, but from faith ; be fully assured, without misgiving, that thou hast been vouchsafed the body and blood of Christ."—(Ibid, p. 271.) And therefore he tells persons to be "fully persuaded that what seems bread is not bread, though bread by taste, but the body of Christ ; and that what seems wine is not wine,

though the taste will have it so, but the blood of Christ."\*—(Ibid, p. 272.)

The same doctrine Mr. Wilberforce also establishes by inference from the early reservation† of the consecrated elements, from the practice of solemnly sending the Holy Eucharist as a sign of intercommunion, and also to the houses of the sick—usages so frequently mentioned in the early ecclesiastical historians, but which, of course, were simply unmeaning and absurd practices, except upon the supposition that some real and important change had taken place in the elements themselves. The same, of course, must be said of the ancient universal‡ custom of

\* This is the passage which no less a scholar than Dr. Langley, the present Protestant Bishop of Ripon, condemned by mistake; when censuring a sermon of the Rev. Mr. Crawley, preached at St. Saviour's, Leeds. When his error was pointed to him, Dr. Langley put a bold face on the matter, and declared that St. Cyril had effectually guarded himself from any charge of advocating Transubstantiation by some of his preceding words. The reader who is curious upon the subject may refer, for further information, to the note appended to the article on "the Leeds Experiment in Anglicanism," in *Dublin Review*, vol. xxxii., p. 96.—(March, 1852.)

† This practice of reserving the consecrated elements in the Church is alluded to in the *Apostol. Constitut.*, viii., 13. The following extract will be read, with interest, as showing the antiquity of another custom. "A custom prevailed in the west in the sixth century, which shows another purpose which the reservation of the element was designed to answer. When the elements were to be consecrated, it was usual, it seems, to join with them a portion of that which had been consecrated on a previous day, as though by way of asserting the oneness and perpetuity of the oblation. This custom is noticed in the description of the ancient Gallic service by Germanus, Bishop of Paris, composed apparently during the sixth century, as well as by his contemporary, Gregory of Tours. Both of them call the vessel in which the sacred elements were preserved a 'Tower;' a name for which Germanus accounts, by supposing that it was designed to represent the rock in which our Lord's Body was entombed. A description of the Roman service, of somewhat similar date, refers to the same custom."—(*Muratorii Liturg. Roman. Vetus. ii.*, p. 979.)

‡ *Placuit Spiritui Sancto ut in honorem tanti sacramenti in os Christiani prius Dominicum corpus intraret, quam cæteri cibi. Nam ideo per universum orbem mos iste servatur.*—Augustin, Ep.

receiving the Holy Eucharist fasting; a custom which we find already existing in the second century, because incidentally mentioned by Tertullian and St. Cyprian,—while the dogmatical assertion that the Body and Blood of Christ are contained and received in each particle, however minute, of the consecrated elements, as quoted by Mr. Wilberforce from the Ambrosian Liturgy,\* not only shows the identity of the Church's creed at this distant interval of time, but also, as Mr. Wilberforce admits, involves as a consequence the validity of reception under one kind only, as conveying the whole blessing bestowed through the medium of the Holy Eucharist.

The following passage is that in which the Archdeacon sums up the chapter which we have just been considering; and we think that for its forcible and apposite remarks

liv., 8. The practice has been recommended by several Anglican writers, among others by Dr. Jeremy Taylor, but only as a matter of expediency. In his "Holy Living and Dying" he says that we ought to pay this honour to the sacrament, "that it be the first food we eat, and the first beverage we drink each day, *unless it be in case of sickness, or other great necessity.*"

\* The words of the Ambrosian Liturgy are these: "Singuli accipiunt Christum Dominum; et in singulis portionibus totus est; nec per singulos minuitur, sed integrum se præbet in singulis." How admirably is this doctrine expressed in the beautiful Sequence of the *Lauda Sion*!

Caro cibus; sanguis potus,  
Manet tamen Christus totus  
Sub utrâque specie.  
A sumente non concisus,  
Non con fractus, non divisus,  
Integer accipitur;  
Sumit unus, sumunt mille,  
Quantum iste, tantum ille.  
Nec sumptus consumitur.  
Fracto demum Sacramento,  
Ne vacilles sed memento  
Tantum esse sub fragmento  
Quantum toto tegitur.  
Nulla rei fit scissura,  
Signi tantum fit fractura,  
Quâ nec status nec statura  
Signati minuitur.



upon Protestants of the ordinary type, we cannot do better than insert it here.

"And as this conclusion has the sanction of reason, so does the authority of all ages witness in its behalf. In this particular do the Fathers of the first centuries agree with the innovators of the last. The former ascribed efficacy to the elements, because they believed the validity of the consecration: the latter deny it, because the validity of consecration is the very conclusion from which they wish to escape. Both allow, then, that consecration and the efficacy of the elements must stand together. Neither is it possible to suppose that those who reject one, can seriously intend to uphold the other. Those who deny that a gift is communicated through the elements, cannot really believe the validity of consecration. They may be willing to retain the rite, as a harmless tribute to ancient usage, but it is impossible that they should believe in the reality of consecration, unless they believe in its results. If they are content to retain the pregnant expressions of the early Church, it is with the understanding that they mean nothing. Yet what a mockery is a Priestly commission which confers no powers, and a form of consecration whereby nothing is made holy! If these things are real, their consequences should be admitted: if unreal, they had better be discarded. *Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*. But if a certain ritual was ordained by Christ, and handed down by His Apostles, can it be indifferent whether or not it is observed? As it would be presumptuous to invent, so to abandon it would be impious. And yet either, perhaps, were less heinous guilt, than to retain holy and sublime usages, pregnant with great truths, and associated with the love and devotion of all saints, yet to regard them with the cold contempt with which men treat the unmeaning and obsolete fashions of a barbarous age."—p. 75.

The next chapter is devoted to a detailed proof that the real objective benefit in and through the Holy Eucharist is the presence of Christ Himself. In treating of this difficult subject, Mr. Wilberforce has shown a wonderful degree of precision and accuracy; his inferences follow in correct logical order; he has shrunk from no positive statement from fear of approximating too nearly to the Tridentine doctrine; and, being honest as well as learned, he has come, though by a tedious inferential process, to an acceptance of the very positions laid down with so much force and beauty by the Council of Trent. Accordingly he first lays down that this presence of our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist is the presence of His Humanity, and then proceeds to show that, by virtue of the

Hypostatic Union, the Godhead of necessity is present also.

"Though the mention of Our Lord's Body and Blood implies the presence of His man's nature, yet by virtue of that personal union, whereby the manhood was taken into God, it involves the presence of His Godhead also. For since these two natures have been perfectly joined together, never to be divided, in the Person of Christ, it follows that His Godhead must needs participate in some measure in all acts and sufferings, in which His Manhood is concerned. For though it is the law of His nature, that His Manhood is not everywhere present, as is His Godhead—since the first does not partake in that attribute of omnipresence which belongs to the last—yet His Godhead is everywhere present with His Manhood, and has part in all its actings. Whatsoever was meant therefore by the giving the Body and the Blood of Christ, as by the force of the terms it implied the gift of His Manhood, so by virtue of the Hypostatic Union it involved that of His Godhead also. Whatsoever was done by the Man Christ Jesus, was done by one who consisted not only of soul and body, but of Godhead also; and that which implied the action of His lower, implied likewise that of His higher nature.

"When Our Lord, then, spoke of His Body and Blood as bestowed upon His disciples in this sacrament, He must have been understood to imply that He Himself, Godhead, Soul, and Body, was the gift communicated. His Manhood was the medium through which His whole Person was dispensed."—pp. 77—78.

According, then, to Mr. Wilberforce, no less than according to the Catholic Church, the real presence of our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist is the presence of that self-same body and blood which He took of the Blessed Virgin, of her substance, and which, so shortly afterwards He offered upon the cross. "This it is," he adds, which forms the link between Him and man's nature; it was bound by the unutterable tie of personality to Himself; and as He then gave it Himself to His twelve apostles, so He still communicates it, by the ministration of their successors, to the faithful in the Holy Eucharist." The common objections urged against the possibility and probability of our Lord's natural body being imparted to Christians, are answered by Archdeacon Wilberforce in a most cogent and satisfactory manner. We have no means of knowing what are the laws of matter, and of bodies, and what is the precise distinction between the material and spiritual world; on the contrary, the process of physical science is continually showing to us changes and combinations

of matter, which prove how defective our present store of knowledge is. This is admitted on all sides, even by German philosophers. "How then," asks Mr. Wilberforce, "can the *possibility* of such a thing be denied?...How can we tell that the very nature of Him whom they saw before them (at the last supper,) might not, in some unknown manner, be communicated to the disciples through that medium which their Master had appointed?" In answer to the alleged *improbability* of our Blessed Lord's human nature being made the medium of grace, he argues with considerable force the *a priori* probability which all must admit; viz., that since Christ is asserted in Holy Scripture to be the second Adam, and the perfect anti-type of the first Adam, if the taint of original sin comes upon us through the flesh which we inherit from the first Adam, there is a fitness and an antecedent probability that the flesh of the second Adam should, in a like manner, be the channel whereby life is given to man; in a word, that "if the person of the one (Adam) is transmitted through his flesh, so His (our Blessed Lord's) flesh should be the medium through which is transmitted the life-giving virtue of Jesus Christ." How far the Archdeacon, in this chapter, has travelled beyond the most advanced of his predecessors, may be learned from the following fact. Johnson, whose "unbloody sacrifice" was perhaps the nearest approximation to Catholic doctrine of any Anglican work of the eighteenth century, and who was a devout follower of the Non-jurors, confesses that he is "very much at a loss to see why our Saviour should make the eating His Body, and drinking His Blood, so important a duty."—(Unbloody Sacrifice, vol. i., p. 264, reprinted in the Anglo-Catholic Library.) To this the Archdeacon replies that clearly "instead of supposing that the Gospel was the central point in the world's history, and that the great events which it unfolded were the real relations between God and man, Johnson assigns the same origin to the Holy Eucharist as Tillotson did to the Priesthood, and to the system of expiatory sacrifice, and supposes it to be merely a compliance with the prejudices of men." When such is the position taken up and maintained by a writer like Johnson, who has hitherto been one of the highest of Anglo-Catholic authorities, and the most orthodox of its divines, we cannot be too thankful to see Archdeacon Wilberforce so wonderfully emancipating

himself from the trammels of that modern system in which his lot has been cast, and speaking in the following terms of reverence and faith on so lofty and mysterious a subject.

"Let the doctrine, then, of Our Lord's Incarnation be admitted, and there will be no improbability in the idea, that His sacred Body should be the medium through which He communicates those gifts which have their origin in His Godhead. For that which Our Lord did in person at His last Supper, He has done ever since by the medium of His ministers. Through them does He still bestow that gift of His Body and His Blood, which He gave to His twelve Apostles. He still speaks the words of Institution, and thereby affirms the presence of Himself, of His Body, Soul, and Godhead. Neither is His Body any other than that Human Body, which, by the mystery of the Incarnation He made His own; that Body which was once humbled, but now is exalted, the selfsame Body, which He took of the virgin, and which suffered on the Cross."—p. 95.

The consideration of the actual relation between the gift and the elements, is one which must present innumerable difficulties to an Anglican writer, unaccustomed, by education, to all precise and well defined statements upon so mysterious a subject, and hampered by the "stammering" and "ambiguous" statements of his own formularies. But here, too, the Archdeacon has, upon the whole, drawn out a most complete and logical statement of the Catholic doctrine, without wandering from the path of truth. To do so was a task requiring no ordinary patience and perseverance, still more of learning and research, but, most of all, of courage. It is, of course, a long and tedious path,—namely, that of individual study and research,—by which he has reached the end of his journey, and attained to the goal of orthodox statement. But he *has* reached it, under the guidance of God, so far, at least, as to have grasped this Catholic doctrine intellectually. He observes that, just as all supposable theories, with reference to the sacramental system in the abstract, may be reduced to three, two of which must of necessity be false, and the falsity of which establishes indirectly the truth of the third; so the words of our blessed Lord, "This is My Body," viewed logically, will assume a threefold form, according as we consider the copula, or connecting link between the subject and predicate, as expressing the relation or connection of *identity*, *representation by likeness*, or *representation by authority*;

that of these three relations two must be inadequate; and if so, that the third relation is at once established as true. In other terms the words, "This is My Body," might, at first sight, be supposed to mean either, (1,) *this represents My Body, because it is like to it*, as a picture represents its original; or, (2,) *this represents it, because I will that it shall stand for it*, as being conventionally equivalent; or, (3,) *this is literally and truly it*. The remarks of Mr. Wilberforce on these three respective theories are here subjoined:—

"The principle of *identity* is coincident with that of the ancient Church, which supposed that the Holy Eucharist derived its value from the reality of the gift bestowed: that principle of representation which depends upon the *opinion of the spectator*, is plainly the theory of Zuinglius, who maintained that the Holy Eucharist derived its efficacy solely from the disposition of the receiver: lastly, that principle of representation which depends upon the *intention of the author*, agrees exactly with the system of Calvin, by whom the decree of Almighty God was affirmed to be its sole consecrating principle."—p. 98.

But there are different senses attached to the word "identity." Here again Mr. Wilberforce steers clear of all difficulties, and rejecting the idea of any personal or physical identity, he applies to it the fit and impressive term of *sacramental identity*, remarking that the ancient Fathers meant this when they spoke of the union of Christ's human nature with the consecrated elements as secret or mystical, because its nature and laws transcend experience, and are entirely hidden from our investigation; and because this Sacrament consists of two things, "united," as Mr. Wilberforce most beautifully remarks, "into one by a law of identity which is without parallel."

This brings him to a delicate and subtle point, the distinction, namely, which writers subsequent to St. Augustine have made, not only between the *sacramentum*, or material part, and the *res*, or *virtus sacramenti*—terms which that Father appears to have occasionally interchanged,—but also again between the *res sacramenti* and the *virtus sacramenti*, as denoting respectively, in spirit and technical phraseology, the *inward part*, and the further *benefits* which result to us from partaking of that inward part. But on this head, and on the intimate connection of the two points, our readers must

consult the work of the Archdeacon itself. He then proceeds to refer four chief errors respecting the Holy Eucharist to four different imperfect views of the relation in which the *sacramentum* and the *res sacramenti* stand to each other. "Since that which is participated in the Holy Eucharist consists of an outward part, and also of an inward part, and since these two must be duly joined together, it is clear that the nature of a sacrament would be overthrown if the one part or the other were omitted, or if the two were either unduly confused, or unduly separated." The Capharnaïtes omitted all thought of the *sacramentum*; the *res sacramenti* had no place in the thoughts of Zuinglius. And further, the outward and inward parts were confused together by Luther, and were separated by Calvin. All this is admirably drawn out by Mr. Wilberforce, who has the advantage over Catholics in one respect; viz., that while he looks upon the various and conflicting modern heresies on this head from a Catholic point of view,—intellectually at least,—he has, of course, had a practical experience of all these shades of opinion in his own communion, and of their working in many of his brethren, while he has also all along been viewing these same doctrines in their abstract form, and pushing their theory to their furthest intellectual conclusions.

The next point established by Mr. Wilberforce in his course of argument is, that this presence of our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist is real, and not merely symbolical, or virtual. By *real*, as he shows in detail, he means as the Church herself teaches, not a material, but a supernatural presence, such, in kind, as properly belongs to a glorified body, though infinitely, of course, transcending it on account of the hypostatic union of His Human to His Divine nature. And this he illustrates from the statements of Holy Scripture concerning our Blessed Lord's frequent appearances, from time to time, after His resurrection;—how, as St. Augustine says, "where sight could not penetrate, His body entered;"—when He entered the room where the disciples were gathered together with closed doors, for fear of the Jews. And yet he is most careful in guarding against the error of ubiquity into which Luther fell. By *real* he also shows that he means *sacramental*, and not *sensible*; *actual*, and not merely *symbolical*, or *virtual*. This statement of the Real Presence, he afterwards argumentatively supports



by the Scriptural authority of our Lord's well known words in St. John, chap. vi. ; and the testimony of antiquity is summed up by him as follows :—

“ The Emperor Charlemagne might be said to be present *figuratively* or *symbolically*, throughout his vast empire, because justice was everywhere administered in his name : He was present throughout it *virtually*, for such was the energy of his character, that his influence was everywhere felt ; but really, he was only present in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle. If Our Blessed Lord's Humanity had no other than that *natural* presence which belongs to common men, His *Real* Presence would in like manner be confined to that one place which He occupies in heaven. But by reason of those attributes which His Manhood possesses through its oneness with God, He has likewise a *supernatural* presence ; the operations of which are restricted only by His own will. And His will is to be present in the Holy Eucharist ; not indeed as an object to the senses of the receiver, but through the intervention of consecrated elements. So that His Presence does not depend upon the thought and imaginations of men, but upon His own supernatural power, and upon the agency of the Holy Ghost. He is present *Himself*, and not merely by His influence, effects, and operation ; by that *essence*, and in that *substance*, which belongs to Him as the true Head of mankind. And therefore He is *really* present ; and gives His Body to be the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified.”—p. 152.

We have no room, we regret to say, for any extracts from the valuable testimonies to this doctrine, which Mr. Wilberforce has scattered over well nigh a hundred pages ; and naturally they are of less weight to ourselves, who have a present living voice to which we can directly appeal, than to any class of Protestants. Particularly among such individuals as hold what are commonly known as Tractarian\* opinions, they ought to have a very great and wide-spread influence, as affording a plain and positive body of irrefragable proof that the appeal to antiquity, on which they profess to rely, when fairly and fully carried out, tells wholly in condemnation of the doctrinal positions of the thirty-nine articles, and establishes beyond all doubt and dispute the great outline of Tridentine dogma.

---

\* We do not use the word offensively. It is adopted by Archdeacon Wilberforce himself in his Charge delivered to the Clergy of the East Riding, in 1850, to denote that section of the High Church party, whose sympathies are with what is called the Oxford School of Theology.

Before quitting the present subject, there is one other passage, to which we would especially direct the attention of our Anglican readers.

"The accordance of antiquity respecting the Real Presence is rendered more striking by its dissonance respecting the manner in which the Presence is brought about, and the terms in which it is to be stated. This doctrine is shown not to have been the result of a theory which everywhere suggested the same conclusions, but to have been a practical conviction, rooted in the deep and wide-spread belief of a whole community. In the East and West, whether men were opposing Nestorius or Eutyches, however they might express themselves respecting the outward elements which were the medium of conveying an inward blessing, there prevailed the same full conviction, that the Body and Blood of Christ were really communicated, under the forms of bread and wine in the Holy Eucharist. There might be a difference, therefore, as to the phrases employed, but there was none as to the fact which they were designed to attest. And how should there be such concert respecting the thing conveyed, while about the scientific statement of the mode of conveying it there was such diversity, except because this was a constituent part of the Church's original deposit? What can be meant by her authority as the appointed witness to Our Lord's declarations, if the consentient affirmation of undivided Christendom was fundamentally erroneous?"—p. 255.

The Archdeacon clearly perceives that the corollary to be immediately deduced from the doctrine of the Real Presence, is the rendering of Divine Honour to our Blessed Lord as there present. In fact, clearly the two things follow each other as cause and effect: if He is present, we must worship Him; if He be not, such worship is misplaced. And conversely, if the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament was a generally established devotion in the earlier ages of the Church, the fact itself is a plain and decisive proof of the equally wide-spread belief in the Real Presence. Hence Luther, as professing to believe in a Real Presence, retained the elevation of the Host in the service which he drew up for Wittenburg; and Calvin himself admits, in the simplest possible words, "*Sic semper ratiocinati sumus, Si Chris us est in hac, esse sub pane adorandum.*"\* (Cont. Hestius, Works, vol. viii. 727.)

---

\* Archdeacon Wilberforce quotes from the Anglican Bishop Andrewes a similar argument, "*Christus ipse res Sacramenti, in et cum sacramento; extra et sine sacramento, ubi ubi est, adorandus est.*" Respons. ad Bellar. viii. p. 266. Anglo. Cath. Library.) But the

Mr. Wilberforce next proves by a multiplicity of witnesses, that such was the belief of the Church from the very earliest ages. St. Cyril, for instance, bids men to approach the Cup of His Blood, not stretching forth their hands, but bending low and saying amen, in the way of reverence and worship." (Myst. Cat. v. xxii.) St. Chrysostom, too, speaks of Christ's Presence in the Holy Eucharist, as "a fearful and wondrous sight," and he calls the Eucharist itself *φρικτὸν καὶ φοβερὸν μυστήριον*. And again:—

"For if we come with faith, we shall assuredly see Him lying in the manger. For this table stands in the place of the manger. And there will lie the Body of the Lord; not wrapped as then in swaddling clothes, but on every side clothed with the Holy Ghost. The initiated understand what I say. And he states in various ways, that Our Lord, as present in the elements, is entitled to the same reverence which was paid Him when He was visibly manifest in the flesh. He speaks of the Energumeni as introduced into Church to pay bodily reverence to Christ, by 'bowing the head' when His presence is bestowed in the Holy Eucharist, because they may not join in the Church's words of prayer. And again he describes them as brought in like prisoners, and placed as criminals would be at the time the judge was going to take his place, 'when Christ is about, as it were, to seat Himself on a lofty tribunal, and to appear in the mysteries themselves.' He speaks of angels as trembling at the Church's sacrifice,' and as 'ministering at that table.' And he describes them as seen in a vision standing round the altar, with eyes fixed on the ground, like soldiers before their king."—p. 259-260.

We now come to the other portion of Mr. Wilberforce's treatise, in which the Holy Eucharist is regarded as a Sacrifice. And here, in some sense, there would seem to have been no difficulty in his way; indeed at first sight it might appear as if, however far he had ventured beyond all

---

meaning of the words which we have italicised are far from clear. Does the author mean, that "*even without, and apart from* the Sacraments, Christ is to be adored, and therefore also in the Sacrament," or does he mean that "He is truly the Res Sacramenti," but that He is also everywhere, and should therefore be adored, as present in the Holy Eucharist in no higher sense than that in which He is present elsewhere? The words of the learned foreign Protestant Divine, Gerhard, as quoted by Mr. Wilberforce, are hardly more satisfactory, "*Quis negat carnem Christi adorandam? Adoramus eam in Sacramento, sed externa Sacramenti symbola non adoramus.*" Why not "*Adoramus Eum?*"

Anglican writers in the earlier and more technical portion of his subject, in claiming for the Holy Eucharist the name of a sacrifice, he would be saying no more than a hundred other writers have done before him. Even the Reformers themselves acknowledged the Holy Eucharist to be a sacrifice; the great body of Elizabeth's divines scarcely disputed the name, however they may have disavowed the reality; Andrewes and Bramhall, Brevint and Saravia, Cosin and Laud, the whole school of Caroline divines, followed by Wilson, Ken, the Non-jurors, Butler, Lake, and others,\* and of the present generation the whole Tractarian party, and all advanced Anglicans—yes, and even his Lordship of London himself—have admitted that it is a sacrifice. Yes, but what kind of a sacrifice? Here is the whole question. Even the mutilated Communion Office of the Anglican Prayer Book declares through the mouth of the officiating minister as he stands at the Communion Table, that “here we offer and present to Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls, and our bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee:” and it teaches him to pray that God's “Fatherly goodness” may “mercifully accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.” But it is in none of these equivocal senses that Mr. Wilberforce intends to employ the term. Even the highest views of the Non-jurors,—who, as is well known, separated from the communion of their Anglican brethren as much because they could not deny the doctrine of an Eucharistic sacrifice, as because they believed in the divine right of the Stuart dynasty,—rose no higher than to insist upon a Sacrifice of bread and wine, without admitting the doctrine of a supernatural change in the elements. And this view, too, Mr. Wilberforce condemns, as utterly unworthy of a place in the Catholic system, and by no means fulfilling the true conditions of a religion which, as contrasted with the Jewish system, is spoken of as “a better covenant, and founded upon better promises,” and as conveying the substance of which Judaism gave but the shadow. And not only this: but in reply to the

---

\* Perhaps the most complete and systematic view of all is that which is taken by an anonymous “Priest of the Church of England,” who published at the end of the seventeenth, or beginning of the eighteenth century, a small volume entitled “Sacrifice the Divine Service.” The book has recently been reprinted at Oxford.

Protestant controversialists, who are for ever bringing forward such passages as Hebrews ix. 12, and x. 10, 26, to disprove the reality of the Christian Priesthood, Altar, and Sacrifice, he asserts that "the true object of such texts is to assert, against the Jews, that there can be no real sacrifice except that of Christ; so that they entirely accord with the assertion that the sacrifice which is perpetually presented upon the altar is identical with that which was once offered upon the Cross." "Wherein would this service have been superior to the Jewish meat offerings," he forcibly asks, "unless it had been the reality of which the ancient sacrifices were a typical representation? Yet such is the view always taken by the Apostles respecting the relation between the Jewish Law and the Christian Ritual. . . . And in this comparison the Eucharistic Sacrifice is represented as bearing its part."

The Archdeacon further shows how the Eucharistic Sacrifice is but the realization of the mediatorial office of our Blessed Lord; and giving the Catholic definition of a sacrifice, as an offering involving the further idea of the slaughter of that which is offered, he declares that so far from the Sacrifice of the Cross having been made "once for all," he renders the *θυσίαν εἰς τὸ ἀπενεχῆς* of St. Paul, (Heb. x. 12.) by the words "one *perpetual* sacrifice for sin," and attributes to our Blessed Lord the Priesthood after the order of Melchisedech in the full Catholic sense. What he means by this he further explains as follows:—

"If the Holy Eucharist is to be called in any peculiar manner the Christian Sacrifice, it can only be by reference to that one perfect propitiation upon the cross, by virtue of which we have in heaven an abiding sacrifice. And hence it is, that the Holy Eucharist is discriminated from all other acts of common worship. For it is by this service only that the real intercession which is transacted in the Church's higher courts, is identified with the worship of its earthly members. If it were the *sacramentum* only, or external sign, which was presented before God in this service, it could have no greater value than pertains to the corruptible productions of this lower world: but since it is also the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified, it is that very sacrifice which Our Lord has rendered perfect by the taking it into Godhead, and available by offering it upon the cross. And again, if this oblation were presented merely by an earthly priest, we might doubt whether his own sins did not impede his actions; but it is the peculiarity of this service, that those who minister it here below are only representatives of Him by whom it is truly offered: *He* speaks through

their voice; they act by *His* power: so that the Church's offering finds a fitting minister in that Great High Priest, who sacrifices in heaven. The Holy Eucharist, therefore, is fitly called the Christian Sacrifice, not only because it is the chief rite of common worship, but because it is the peculiar act, wherein the effectual intercession which is exercised in heaven by the Church's Head, reaches down to this lower sphere of our earthly service. It is no repetition of the sacrifice of the cross, nor any substitution of another victim, 'for although once for all offered, that sacrifice, be it remembered, is ever living and continuous—made to be continuous by the resurrection of Our Lord.'\*—pp. 301-302.

\* This last sentence is quoted by Mr. Wilberforce from the Pastoral Letter of Dr. Phillpotts of Exeter. But the force of the words is destroyed by other assertions of Dr. Phillpotts of an opposite kind. Moreover, how would his Lordship of Exeter stand the test, if he was asked whether he approves of the adoration of our Lord's Body as present in the Blessed Sacrament? Yet this is the very test proposed by the Archdeacon. We happen to know that his Lordship does not regard the remainder of the consecrated elements which are not consumed in the Church where he officiates, as "verily and indeed" the Body and Blood of Christ. Dr. Cosin, too, Bishop of Durham, could express himself in terms as nearly identical as possible. "Therefore, this is no new sacrifice," he writes, "but the same which was once offered (on the Cross,) and which is every day offered to God (the Father) by Christ in heaven, and continueth here still on earth, by a mystical representation of it in the Holy Eucharist. And the Church intends not to have any new propitiation or new remission of sins obtained; but to make that effectual, and in act applied to us, which was once obtained by the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross. Neither is the Sacrifice of the Cross as it was once offered up there, *more cruento*, so much remembered in the Eucharist, though it be commemorated, as regard is had to the perpetual and daily offering of it by Christ, now in Heaven in His everlasting Priesthood; and the reason was, and should be still, the *juge sacrificium* observed here on earth, as it is in heaven, the reason which the ancient Fathers had for their daily sacrifice." And yet, such is the inconsistency and mystification of Protestant authors in their theological statements, that this same Bp. Cosin wrote a long treatise, entitled the "History of the Popish Transubstantiation." What makes the matter worse, he wrote it for the benefit of Protestants in Paris, in order to prevent them from being gained over to the Catholic Church—a step which we feel sure that Mr. Wilberforce would be far from approving. The book was published in Latin in London in 1675, by Dr. Durell, and translated into English in the following year, by Luke de Beaulieu. It has lately been republished in the "Anglo Catholic Library."



Accordingly he thus sums up the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice :

"This service must partake of that efficacy which appertains to the perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ, once for all ; and the sacrifice of Melchisedech must be an application of the sacrifice on the Cross.

"The doctrine, then, of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, has its foundation in the truth of the Real Presence. It is grounded upon the same circumstance which has been shown to be characteristic of the Real Presence itself, namely, that Christ is really present because of the presence of His *Body*. For 'although Christ does not appear to offer now,' says St. Ambrose, 'yet Christ Himself is offered on earth, when His *Body* is offered.' So that the Eucharistic sacrifice rests upon the fact that all access to God is through the intercession of Christ ; it implies that His intercession depends upon the merit of that slain Humanity which He presents before God ; and that the same Humanity which is present *naturally* in Heaven, is the medium of His *supernatural* Presence in His Church's ordinances ; so that there is one sacrifice but many altars."—pp. 313-314.

With reference to the ordinary class of High Church Anglicans, who profess to believe in *an* Eucharistic Sacrifice, while they deny it in its Catholic and ancient sense, the following are Mr. Wilberforce's pointed and well aimed remarks :—

"It cannot be expected that those who take the Zuinglian or Calvinistic view of this ordinance should see anything more in it, because they suppose that they are dealing only with a sacramentum, or external form, and deny the existence of the *res sacramenti*, or thing signified. But it would be surprising to find this notion shared by persons who believe in the Real Presence of Christ. If the effect of consecration be to join together the sacramentum and *res sacramenti*, why should persons exclude the one and offer up the other ? Why should they exclude the reality or thing signified, and offer up the mere form and shell of the victim ? Is not this to be deluded by a system of shadows ? There is a consistency in denying that this service is a sacrifice at all : it is to reject the concurrent sentence of all antiquity ; to divest the worship of the Christian Church of its reality, and to detract from the present efficacy of the Intercession of Christ : yet though a false system, it is harmonious with itself. But, to allow the Holy Eucharist to be a sacrifice, yet suppose that nothing is offered but its external shell and covering—that the Church honours God by presenting to Him the empty husk of its victim—is little consonant with the truth and actuality of the Christian dispensation. It is to substi-

tute the shadows of the Law for the realities of the Gospel."—p. 322.

The inward part of the Holy Eucharist having been thus fully stated, Mr. Wilberforce proceeds to the further question, what are the benefits accruing to Christians therefrom? And this question he answers as follows: showing how far he is from falling into the Capharnaite error.

"Though Christ's Body is orally received, yet *It* does not become part of *us* but *we* become part of *Him*: *He* is not resolved, as it were, into the structure of our minds, but *we* pass, on the contrary, into His divine organization. The *sacramentum* indeed, or outward part, is assimilated, like other food, to the body which receives it: but the *res sacramenti* is an energizing principle, which takes up and quickens that upon which it is bestowed.

"Now, such a mode of operation as this is spiritual, and not carnal; and addresses itself, not to the bodily organs, but to the inner man. 'Spiritual and corporal nourishment,' says a striking writer, 'follow contrary laws: in corporal nourishment the nutriment is converted into the substance of the thing nourished: but in the nourishment of the spiritual life, the thing nourished is converted into the nature of the thing which nourishes it, and of its nutriment; and the nutriment is not changed, but only the thing nourished.' That such should be the process, therefore, in the Holy Eucharist, shows the thing received not to be *dead matter*, which is to acquire life by being taken into the organization of the receiver, but a living principle, which has power to absorb and organize those by whom it is partaken. And this is the manner in which the Holy Eucharist is always described by ancient writers: 'the effect of participating of the Body and Blood of Christ is nothing else than that we pass into that which we receive:' 'as St. Paul says, a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, so the very smallest portion of the Eucharist resolves our whole body into itself, and fills us with its own energy.' 'The Body' (*i. e.* of Our Lord) 'which has been rendered immortal by God, having become present in ours, transforms and changes the whole of it to itself.'"—pp. 352-353.

So much, then, for the speculative part of Mr. Wilberforce's book:—a work with which thus far we know of nothing that can be compared, as an instance of Catholic doctrine systematically elaborated by a long intellectual process and historical enquiry. In fact, with one or two exceptions,\* it is the ancient Catholic doctrine of the

---

\* For example, the Archdeacon says nothing of the value of the

Church, set forth once more in almost the very terms of the Tridentine definitions, by an authority wholly external too, and independent of, the Council of Trent. The value of such a testimony to the genuineness and antiquity of Catholic doctrine can scarcely be overrated, as to its probable results upon Protestants. It is of course the offspring of an act of private judgment—this we suppose that Mr. Wilberforce would scarcely feel inclined to deny—and just as Mr. Goode and Mr. Gorham have *their* theory upon the Lord's Supper, and the Bishop of London has *his* theory, and Dr. Hook has *his* theory, so Mr. Wilberforce has his theory also. His right to it cannot be disputed. Whilst his Church nominally and on paper pretends to appeal to the ancient Fathers and the early councils,—

---

Holy Eucharist as a sacrifice on behalf of the dead as well as the living. Yet even on this head, he might have quoted from early writers. St. Augustine, for instance, with respect to his deceased mother, in his Confessions, B. x. (we quote from the Oxford edition, 1838,) states that the following was her last prayer. "Ponite hoc corpus ubicunque; nihil vos ejus cura conturbet, tantum illud vos rogo, ut ad Domini altare memineritis mei ubi ubi fueritis." And was remembrance made of her at the altar? "Cum offerretur" (continues St. Augustine) pro eâ sacrificium pretii nostri, jam juxta sepulchrum posito cadavere, sicut illic fieri solet," &c. And again he writes, "non ista mandavit nobis; sed tantummodo memoriam sui ad altare Tuum fieri desideravit, cui nullius diei prætermissione servierat; unde sciret dispensari Victimam Sacram." Ch. xi. xii. xiii. Another and an earlier authority is St. Cyril, who speaks thus in his Sixth Myst. Catechetical Lectures. "Then we make remembrance of those who have died before us; first of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, that God, through their prayers and intercessions, may receive our supplication; and next of the holy fathers and bishops who are dead, and in short, of all the departed among us; believing that very great will be the benefit to the souls of those for whom supplication is offered, while the holy and most awful Victim is lying present. Thus we make supplication for the dead, though they may be sinners, offering Christ sacrificed for our sins, and rendering that God who is the lover of men, propitious to them and to ourselves." A variety of testimonies from the various Eastern Liturgies to the ancient belief of the Church in the Holy Eucharist as a propitiatory sacrifice, available both for the living and the dead, will be found in an admirable tract by the late Dr. Lingard, published among the Tracts of the Catholic Institute, entitled *The Widow of Woolfrey*, and the Vicar of Carisbrooke.

though all the time she binds up with her mutilated remains of Catholic formularies, the heretical decisions of Lutheran, Zuinglian, Calvinistic, and Anglican Reformers, in the shape of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and claims subscription to them from all her clergy, and from many of her laity—Mr. Wilberforce has been in reality prosecuting the appeal to antiquity; and we do not hesitate to say that he has far outstripped the limits of the tether with which his Church thought to bind him into slavish submission to her own fallible decisions. Mr. Wilberforce has sought, and he has found; he has knocked honestly, and the door has opened to his enquiry. The light that has broken in upon him from the deep study of the early fathers, is one which must, ere long, reduce to certainty the strong feelings which he evidently cherishes in spite of himself—namely, that the decisions of the Council of Trent are in strict accordance with the spirit of the Church as she existed in the earliest ages. If so, can his own formularies at the same time be really and truly couched in a Catholic tone and spirit, or in any way be brought into harmony with “the ancient fathers” of the Church? The effort to harmonize the two was made some twelve years since at Oxford: but it was made in vain; it was too fine spun a theory for honest Englishmen: the national voice rose up against it in indignant protest, and the powerful intellect of Dr. Newman was forced to give up the unequal contest. It must be so also, in God’s own good time, we feel sure, with Archdeacon Wilberforce. It cannot be for nothing that God has raised him up to set before the Anglican communion the doctrine of the Incarnation, of the Sacraments as the media of its extension, and especially the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, in a formal and scientific shape, though with sundry failings and short comings: and we think that in his comments on the practice of the Anglican Church, we can read the workings of a mind not only weary of its unrealities, but suspicious of its claims to credit on the score of adherence to the voice of antiquity.

At all events he does not shrink from contrasting in the one or two points which fall within his scope, the practices of the early Church with those of Anglicanism, as it exists in the nineteenth century. And his contrasts are most forcible and true. They cannot be parried by evasions. “Not only,” he writes, “was the Holy Eucharist daily

ministered in the Primitive Church, but its staple worship was the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Congregations which met from week to week without this act, and churches in which it was solemnized once a quarter were wholly unknown." ..... "The present, therefore, is plainly an instance of discrepancy (from the early Church) which, according to primitive rules, admits of no justification, since it is at variance in a most grave and momentous particular, not only with the universal judgment of the ancient Church, but also with the acknowledged practice of the Holy Apostles." Again, he admits, that in consequence of Cranmer having "abandoned his belief in the Real Presence," all "mention of daily communion immediately disappeared from the Reformed Prayer-Book; and that, among other results equally to be deplored, the communion was forbidden to be celebrated except there were present 'a good number' to communicate with the priest; those who did not wish to receive sacramentally, were ordered to quit the church; and the mediæval abuse, known as the *Missa Sicca*, enjoined, when actual celebration did not take place.

"This order, to 'send the multitudes away,' was the cause both of the subsequent small attendance at the Holy Eucharist, and of the infrequency of the rite. For it was soon found, that if every one who was present was obliged to receive on every occasion, it was necessary either to give up the daily Eucharist, or to dispense with the attendance of 'the great congregation.' Yet the order was natural enough, considering that the ruling party had adopted the Zuinglian theory, and supposed the Holy Eucharist to be merely a commemorative feast. For if Christ's real Presence be denied, the primitive doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice must be abandoned also; so that to have maintained a spiritual participation in the Offering, would have been to keep up a practice which had lost its meaning. It was only consistent, therefore, to accommodate the usages of the Church to its new doctrines. The service, consequently, was divested of its sacrificial character; and no longer bore witness, as in early times, to the great event which is transacted at the altar."—p. 379.

With reference to the desirableness of restoring among the laity the custom of assisting at the Holy Sacrifice, even though they do not actually receive, he asks with some indignation, "Is it contrary either to natural piety or to any express command, to join in the sacrifice without going on to (receive) the sacrament?" And again, "there is a cus-

tom which has existed, as it would seem, from the very commencement of the Church, and which was for the first time forbidden, through the influence of the Zuinglian party, at the end of fifteen centuries and a half..... Why should men be debarred of that liberty which was allowed them in the primitive Church, unless it can be proved to be unlawful?" and he finds no difficulty in answering the question in the negative. "It is clear," he replies, "that some members of the Church who were present at her public prayers, and who must have been expected therefore to remain till the conclusion of the service, neither did, nor according to her canons, could communicate daily." Here, then, is another flagrant departure of the Anglican Church from primitive practice. On the effects of such a step as the exclusion of those who did not communicate sacramentally, Mr. Wilberforce remarks thus:—

"But beyond any benefit which may accrue to individuals, this practice has its importance for the collective Church. It was the exclusion of the mass of men from the Christian sacrifice, which made it necessary to substitute other offices, by which the daily Eucharist has been practically superseded. Now no circumstance has had more influence than this upon the belief of the people. We may trace to it the popular conviction, which no argument can efface, that congregations meet together merely for the quickening of their feelings, or for the imparting of instruction, and not that they may obtain their petitions. And thus the notion of the Church's *work*, as an actual operative transaction, is well-nigh lost.

"The effect of such errors in diminishing men's practical sense of the Mediation of Christ, it is impossible to overestimate, and when the Holy Eucharist ceases to be regarded as a real action, wherein Christ's very Presence is exhibited on earth, and whereby prayer is truly rendered available; men fall back upon some other system of approaching to God, and with a change in belief comes a change in the principle of worship. Thus do individual prayer, and private faith, and single piety, take the place of that collective action, whereby the whole Church was supposed in ancient days to offer itself to God; and are supposed not only to be necessary, which they are, to the Christian life, but to have right in themselves to acceptance."—p. 414-415.

Such being the case, our readers will not be surprised to learn that the Archdeacon openly advocates the restoration of a daily celebration of the Eucharist in the Anglican Churches. Indeed, he tells us in a note, that out of the twelve thousand churches belonging to the establishment,



there are already four where this practice is carried out, in spite of King Edward's mandate of 1552.\* And possibly indeed, here and there, where he can find some clergy who are willing to live in a kind of religious community, as at St. Saviour's, Leeds, or at All Saints Church in Margaret Street, who are willing to restore the practice, something may be done; but, as Mr. Wilberforce remarks, the habit of such attendance, once lost, is not easily recovered.

———"neque amissos colores  
Lana refert medicata fuco,  
Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,  
Curat reponi deterioribus."

The reason is obvious. A belief in the Real Presence is extinct in the Anglican communion. We are leaving a large margin for unknown cases, when we express our firm belief that there are not twenty, out of the fifteen thousand Anglican bishops, priests, and deacons, whose names are in the *clergy list*, whose belief reaches the level of the archdeacon of the East Riding. And even if twenty such men were found, how shall the daily sacrifice be celebrated except by a celibate clergy? These are simple, yet stubborn facts; and they stand as inseparable objections to any efforts made towards bringing about such a revival in the Anglican communion.

One word in conclusion. It is the solemn and deliberate opinion of Archdeacon Wilberforce, after a long and patient search into the records of Christian antiquity, that "the leading principles of the early Church, were its worship of the God-Man, its belief in His Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist, in the powers of the priesthood, and in the efficacy of consecration. These, and similar facts," he adds, "were built up into that intellectual system of doctrine which we call the Creeds. The work was one which it cost nearly five centuries to complete." Now, we all know

---

\* This mandate was withdrawn, or, rather tacitly omitted in 1662, when the Prayer Book was revised under Charles II. And on this ground Mr. Wilberforce urges that the restoration of the practice is not impossible or illegal. We think, however, that it was not in order to facilitate such a practice that the mandate was omitted, but because it was no longer necessary; the habit being lost, as he confesses. The habit, however, of course could not have been lost, had the doctrine of which it was the expression been retained.

that it is far easier to pull down than to build ; the apostate Cranmer and his Anglican brethren struck the first blow at the root of the tall tree of faith which had flourished in England, as elsewhere, above a thousand years ; the foreign Protestants nobly seconded their unholy efforts ; for a century the theology of Calvin was triumphant in England—what Calvin did not destroy, perished by the hand of Hoadley ; and in spite of every effort to revive the fallen tree, as a whole and a system, it still lies prostrate and dead. The efficacy of the one of its two sacraments was denied and destroyed at the Reformation ; within our own day Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, as the mouthpiece of Anglican ecclesiastical law, declared that the English Church knew nothing of altars, and therefore nothing of either priest or sacrifice ; and but four short years ago its only remaining sacrament was made and declared an open question, by the authority of her Majesty in council, and scarcely a voice was raised against the judgment. Can Archdeacon Wilberforce find any parallel to this state of things in the early and “undivided” Church ? And if not, can the Anglican body, upon his own showing, have any claim upon his obedience ? Is it in any sense a witness of God’s truth and a teacher of the faith of the apostles ? This is a solemn question ; and it involves another ; but we ask it not now ; God’s grace, in His own good time, will doubtless work out the true solution.

---

ART. IV.—1. *Lectures on Turkey.* By the Very Rev. J. H. NEWMAN, D.D. Dublin : Duffy.

2. *Downfall of Turkey.* By the Rev. G. S. FABER. London.

3. *The Russ, the Greek, and the Turk.* London : Freeman.

4. *The Greek and the Turk.* By E. CROWE. London : R. Bentley.

5. *The Cross, v. The Crescent; the Religious Aspect of the Eastern Question.* London : T. Harrison.

6. *The Czar and the Sultan.* London : Vizetelly.

7. *St. Petersburg.* By J. G. KOHH. London : Simms and McIntyre.
8. *The Drying up of the Euphrates, and the Downfall of Turkey.* By the Rev. R. ARTOUN. London : Virtue and Co.
9. *The Crisis in the East, or the Russo-Turkish War, with its consequences to England and the World.* By CONINGSBY. London : Routledge and Co.
10. *The Danubian Principalities, the Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk.* London : R. Bentley.
11. *Progress of Russia.* London : J. Murray.
12. *The Religious Aspect of the Eastern Question.* London : Ollivier.
13. *The Doom of Turkey.* By J. McFarlane. London : Bosworth.
14. *Russia in the Right.* London : Mosley.
15. *Papers laid before Parliament on the Eastern Question.*

THE above list of works is significant of the interest felt in this country at the present time with respect to Russia. It is an interest which, however purely political and ephemeral in its character, and entirely owing to the events of recent occurrence, has by degrees associated itself with permanent and moral considerations. There are among these works several which take large, and even religious views of the question; and we need hardly say that if Protestant writers have been led to look at it in this lofty aspect, Catholics can scarcely fail to do so. We need not do more than mention the illustrious names of Lacordaire and Le Maistre, to which we may now add that of Newman. These great minds have been attracted by the momentous questions of the destiny of Russia, the fate of Turkey, and the result to Christianity. The view which they appear to take may be shortly summed up thus: that Turkey must be absorbed by Russia, and that Russia must be re-absorbed in Catholic unity. The vastness of the prospect thus opened to our view—the grandeur of the idea thus presented to our imagination, it surpasses all the powers of poetry to express. From the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from the Danube to the Indus, the Catholic religion spreading its benign sway—the Holy See exercising its Apostolic jurisdiction! With such a moral force acquired by the Church, and such a deadly blow given to Mahomedanism, it is impossible not to see that the powers of Antichrist all over Asia would be

shaken, and that India and China would not long be able to resist the progress of the faith, which would soon diffuse itself over the whole of that vast continent, so that Christianity would stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The Abbé Lacordaire says, "Russia is a mighty nation. She stretches from the centre of Europe to that of Asia, from China to America, enclosing a territory whose immensity startles the imagination far less than its providential distribution delights the understanding. Russia belongs to the Greek religion by accident, and not by her political necessities or the character of her mind. It is impossible for her to fulfil her destiny without a return sooner or later to unity." Taking these lines for our text, we will endeavour to give the historical grounds for the conclusions thus expressed, and to exhibit the past history and the present character of Russia, as a key to her probable destiny, having ever before our mind the magnificent prediction of the Count Le Maistre, that Europe and Asia will one day sing High Mass together under the dome of Santa Sophia!

It is impossible to appreciate the views of these great Catholic writers without referring to the past history of Russia. For instance, to understand the profound remark of Lacordaire, that she is of the Greek religion by accident, we must go back to the eve of her original conversion to the faith. The Slavonian tribes which inhabited the central provinces of the present Russia, (we are informed by Döllinger,) bordered on the North by the Finnish tribes, were formed into a kingdom in 862, by the Norman Ruric, whence they are said to have acquired their name. The capital of their kingdom was first Novogorod, and afterwards Kiow, which was situated more to the South. From Ruric and from his companions in arms, the Russians soon acquired the Norman spirit of enterprise and plunder, and appeared as early as the year 867, and again in the years 907 and 941, on the Black Sea before Constantinople. Their wars and treaties with the Byzantine empire first introduced them to a knowledge of Christianity. Photius speaks in the highest terms of the faith of the Russians. In the beginning of the tenth century Russia was enumerated as the sixtieth archbishopric under the eparchs who were dependant on the patriarch of Constantinople. In 945 Kiow was a

Metropolitan See, and in 957, Olga, the widow of the chief prince of Igor, was baptized in the Imperial city of the Greeks, but the conversion of Russia was reserved for her grandson, Wladimir. This prince, who, in 980 became sole monarch of Russia, had resolved to embrace Christianity, when his conversion was proposed to him by the Greek emperor, the hand of whose sister he sought in marriage. He was baptized at Cherson, in 988; he immediately ordered all the idols at Kiow to be destroyed, and the image of Perun, the chief god of the Russians, to be thrown into the Dnieper. His decree that all the inhabitants should appear on the banks of the same river, to receive baptism on the following day, was obeyed without opposition. Greek priests were now sent into the different cities, churches and cloisters were erected, and schools established. Michael, a Servian by birth, was the first metropolitan of Russia. But easily as the people, thus in appearance, yielded to the change of religion, paganism was not entirely banished, particularly amongst the tribes that were not of Slavonian descent, before the twelfth century. The founding of new cities, which were exclusively Christian, tended greatly to the establishment of the faith. The connexion of the Grecian with the Russian Church, opened the way for the introduction into Russia of the arts and literature of Greece. It was doubtless on account of the similarity of the two churches that Nicetas hesitated not to name the Russians the most Christian people. In the eleventh century Kiow possessed no less than four hundred churches, and had gained for itself the title of the second Constantinople. In one of its cloisters, the monk Nestor (1056-1111) wrote his annals in the language of the country. But the entire spiritual and hierarchical dependence of the Russian Church upon the Church of the Greeks, (the Russian metropolitans were always confirmed and consecrated by the patriarchs of Constantinople,) involved it in the melancholy schism of the latter. Hence the Russian clergy always arrayed themselves at a distance, and in hostility against the many ameliorations of social life, which were effected in the West, and placed the strongest barriers against the many improvements which might have flowed in upon their country from the Catholic States of Western Europe.\* It was during the period thus occupied by the

---

\* Hist. Church. Period ii. sec. 3, vol. iii. p. 30.

conversion of the Russians that those disagreements with Rome occurred, which ultimately ended in a separation of the Greek Church from the Holy See. Hence Russia, so to speak, received the faith from a source tainted with schism, and can scarcely be said to have ever been in complete communion or direct communication with the Chair of St. Peter. This is an important fact to be borne in mind, in considering her history or her destiny. From the manner in which the people first received the faith, coming to them as it did, everything good might have been augured of them had it not been for the unfortunate schism, in the guilt of which it is impossible not to see that the bulk of the nation could, under the circumstances, scarcely have shared. The case of Russia, in this respect, is peculiar, and cannot be more appropriately described than in the happy phrase of the Abbé Lacordaire, that she "received the Greek religion by accident."

It is a curious circumstance that before their conversion, the Russians had attempted the conquest of Constantinople.

"It is now a thousand years," says Dr. Newman, "since their first expedition against Constantinople: their assaults continued two centuries, and in the course of that period they seemed to be nearer the capture of the city than at any time since. They descended the Dnieper in boats, coasted along the East to the Black Sea, and so came round by Trebezond to the Bosphorus, plundering the coast as they advanced. At one time their sovereign had got possession of Bulgaria. Barbarians of other races flocked to his standard: he found himself surrounded by the enemies of the East and West, and he marched down to Adrianople, and threatened to go further.\* Ultimately, he was defeated; then followed the conversion of his people to Christianity, which, for a period, restrained their barbarous rapacity; after this, for two centuries they were under the yoke and bondage of the Tartars."

In the little work from which we have just quoted, (and which, almost extemporized as it was, is a wonderful proof of the power of its illustrious author's mind, and his vast historical information,) Dr. Newman, in a most masterly manner, traces the whole history of the Turkish nation down to their origin amidst the hordes of Tartars who once overran Russia. It is interesting to observe

---

\* As the present emperor did in 1828. Singular that, during 1000 years, the Russians should never have got further.



how thus early in their history the Russ and the Turk are connected. Still more remarkable is it that from the most ancient time, there has been a prophecy preserved in the East, that the Russians were destined one day to be masters of Constantinople.

"Seven centuries and a half have passed," says Dr. Newman, "since, at the very beginning of the Crusades, a Greek writer, still extant, turns from the then increasing inroads of the Turks in the East, and the long centuries of their triumph which lay in prospect, to record a *prophecy, old even in his time*, to the effect that in the last days the Russians should be masters of Constantinople; when it was uttered no one knows: but he tells us it was written on an equestrian statue, in his days one of the special monuments of the Imperial city, which had been brought thither from Antioch. That statue has a name in history, for it was one of the works of arts destroyed by the Latins at the taking of Constantinople." "There is an enigmatical inscription on the tomb of the Great Constantine, to the effect that the yellow-haired race shall overthrow Ismael."

The influence of that prophecy can probably be traced in the whole history of the Russian nation: nor was it likely to be weakened by the fact that from Constantinople they received the Christian faith.

At that time the monstrous power of Mahomedanism was in the ascendant, and was soon to find its most ferocious apostles in a tribe of that wild race which was destined in two centuries to overrun the newly Christianized nation of the Russians, and lay the foundation of that deep-rooted feeling of animosity which now bursts forth with fury in our own day. Some centuries had elapsed since the Saracens had signalized the rise of their sanguinary power with the taking of Jerusalem and the burning of Alexandria. The Greek emperors had already had to sustain a series of disastrous contests with these disciples of the false prophet; and the Turks, so early as the eighth century, had ravaged Asia Minor, while the Saracens were overrunning a considerable portion of the empire. While the conversion of Russia was proceeding, the power of the Turks was rapidly rising, and by the time she was Christian, had overturned the Empire of the Caliphs, and threatened to form a new one in the capital of the Constantines. It was not long ere the Turks took Jerusalem, and commenced their sway in the Holy Land, which has now endured nearly nine centuries, marking their acquisition of Palestine by such outrages upon Chris-

tian pilgrims as were destined in half a century to rouse all Europe to its first crusade.

Has it ever occurred to our readers that Mahomedanism is the only religion ever set up and invented, so to speak, in avowed opposition, open antagonism and deadly aversion to Christianity? Paganism, in its multifarious forms of idolatry, is the debased remnant of patriarchal Christianity, and has by gradual process of corruption become opposed to it. Judaism, on the other hand, was long anterior to it, and is only opposed to it in not having submitted to it; whereas, Mahomedanism was framed by these false prophets for the very purpose of its being set up against Christianity,—he himself—the apostle of Satan—setting himself up in blasphemous rivalry to Christ. If ever there appeared Antichrist in the world, Mahomet was he. He challenges for himself the honour due to the Son of God; and the watchword of his followers, “There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet,” indicates an essential enmity to Christianity, more malignant than in any other false religion. Accordingly the whole history of Mahomedanism has been marked by a ferocious fanaticism against the Christian faith.

“No race,” says Dr. Newman, “casts so broad and dark a shadow on the page of ecclesiastical history and leaves so painful an impression on the mind as the Turkish. The Saracens withered away at the end of 300 or 400 years, and had not the power, though they had the will, to persevere in their enmity to the Cross. The Tartars had both the will and the power, but they were far off from Christendom, or came down on ephemeral outbreaks. But the unhappy race of the Turks from the first moment they appear in the history of Christendom are its unmitigated, its obstinate foes. They have the resources of Tartars with the fanaticism of Saracens.” “Since the eleventh century the Turks have been the great Anti-christ among the races of men.”

Twelve hundred years almost have elapsed since the Saracens—the first ferocious followers of Mahomet, under Omar, took possession of Palestine, and the Holy City fell under the abusing yoke of the false prophet. Retaining just enough of Judaism to lead them to venerate Jerusalem as a sacred spot; they were, we need scarcely say, deadly foes to the Christian faith; the mosque of Omar was destined to receive from them the reverence due to the Sepulchre of our Lord. Eight hundred years ago the Holy City fell into the hands of the Turks. As

there is a great deal of misconception as to the true character of Mahomedanism—indeed, we might almost say a great deal of misplaced, or rather, morbid sympathy with it, we will, in the words of a mighty writer, endeavour to convey something like a true idea of its real spirit. All that is new in it, says Schlegel, “is that *fanatic spirit of conquest*, it has inculcated throughout the world.” “There was betrayed in it the most dreaded hostility towards the Christian religion.” “It was a morality without love, which has encouraged the thirst of blood, and begun and terminated in most unbounded sensuality. It encourages, and even commands—irreconcilable hostility—eternal warfare—eternal slaughter—to propagate through the world a belief in its blood-stained prophet of pride and lust.” “Perhaps all the heathen nations put together have not offered to their false gods so many human victims.” “And thus,” says the illustrious Görres, “thus the cutting steel and the destroying flame go before it as missionaries, and the south and east, and soon arises a part of the west, are borne down by its yoke.” It may be conceived what kind of guardians of the Christian shrines were these deadly foes to Christian faith. Then, in fact, commenced that terrible controversy about the *Holy Places*, which has continued down to our own days, and has now wrapped Europe in the flames of war.

One of the most remarkable and characteristic passages of Dr. Newman’s book, is that in which he speaks of the “undying opposition of the Holy See to the Turks, as a striking instance of its divinely imparted gift of seeing instinctively what is unfavourable to the interest of the Catholic faith.”

“From the very first, the Holy See pointed out the Turks as an object of alarm for all Christendom, in a way in which it had marked out neither Saracens nor Tartars. It denounced them as a people with whom the faithful never would have sympathy or alliance. It denounced them not merely as an odious outlying deformity, painful to the moral sight and senses, but an energetic evil, an aggressive, ambitious, ravenous foe, in whom foulness of life and cruelty of policy were methodized by system, consecrated by religion, and propagated by the sword. It was said by a prophet of old, concerning a threatened invasion, ‘Before the face thereof a devouring fire, and behind it a burning flame. The land is like a garden of pleasure before it, and behind it a desolate wilderness!’” “And I might similarly apply these words to the calamities, of which the Turks were the authors, in the Christian

countries which they overran : and describe how, when they got possession of Asia Minor, they profaned the churches, subjected bishops and clergy to the most revolting outrages, circumcised their youth, and led off their sisters to their profligate households." "War with the Turks was the uninterrupted cry for seven or eight centuries, from the eleventh to the eighteenth. Sylvester II. was the originator of a union of Christian nations against them. St. Gregory the Great collected an army to oppose them. Urban II. actually set in motion the long crusade. Honorius II. instituted the Order of Knight Templars, to preserve the pilgrims from their assaults. Eugenius III. sent St. Bernard to preach the Holy War. Innocent III. advocated it in the august Council of the Lateran. Nicholas IV. negotiated an alliance with the Tartars for its prosecution. Gregory X. was in the Holy Land in the midst of it (with our Edward I.) when elected Pope. Urban V. received and reconciled the Greek Emperor with a view to its renewal. Innocent VI. sent the Blessed Peter Thomas the Carmelite to preach in its behalf. Boniface IX. raised a magnificent army of French, German, and Hungarians, who fought\* the great battle of Nicopoles. Eugenius IV. formed the confederation of Hungarians and Poles who fought the battle of Varna. Nicholas V. sent round St. John Capestian to urge the princes of Christendom against the enemy. Calixtus III. sent the celebrated Hunniades to fight with them. Pius II. addressed to the Sultan an apostolic letter of warning and denunciation. Sixtus the IV. fitted out a fleet against them. St. Pius V. added the 'auxilium Christianorum' to our Lady's Litany, in thankfulness for his victory over them. Gregory XIII. with the same purpose appointed the Festival of the Rosary. Clement IX. died of grief on account of their successes."

The Crusades were the commencement of that great struggle between the Crescent and the Cross, which must last until the Cross has triumphed. The words of Pope Urban, uttered at the council of Clermont seven centuries and a half ago, are as true now as they were then. "Behold the Holy Land, which an incarnate God once consecrated by His presence, now occupied by Infidels! behold the Churches of Jerusalem insultingly profaned by Mahomedan superstition! behold the Sepulchre of our Lord, and all the Holy Places, wantonly defiled by impious Mussulmen, the fanatic followers of a false prophet!" The atrocities then committed by the Infidels upon Christian pilgrims aroused all Europe in a flame of just indig-

---

\* Alas ! how disastrously ! The story is one of the most affecting passages in Froissart.

nation and chivalrous enthusiasm, and the Crusades were the result. We need not recapitulate their unsuccessful history ; enough to observe that the great cause of their failure was the want of amity and unity among Christian Princes, their national jealousies, and miserable dissensions. Alas ! it is a melancholy moral, exhibited over and over again, from those days to the present. At last the Christians of the west turned their swords against those of the east, and the fourth Crusade, at the commencement of the 13th century, was not directed to the delivery of Jerusalem, but the conquest of Constantinople. It is almost six hundred years since the city was taken by the Crusaders, soon to lose it again, and leave it a prey to its constant civil dissensions and religious schisms. Ere the 13th century had closed the Ottoman empire had commenced in Bithynia.

Towards the close of the 13th century, while Russia was yet under the dominion of the Turks, and after the last of the Crusades took place under the auspices of St. Lewis, anti-Papal principles became prevalent in the West, as un-Catholic doctrines were gaining predominance in the East ; and in the 14th century, while Western Christendom was divided by the fatal schism of the double papacy, Eastern Christendom was rapidly proceeding towards a complete disclaimer of papal authority, and fatal departure from Catholic orthodoxy. It is exactly four centuries ago since this melancholy consummation took place at Constantinople, in a final separation from the Holy See ; and the almost instant retribution that ensued is one of the most tremendous manifestations of an avenging Providence recorded in history. The year 1452 saw the sad schism ; the very next year saw its punishment in the capture of the city by the Turks. There is an ancient prophecy preserved by Christian tradition in the east, that Turkish dominion over the Greek empire was to last four hundred years. That period expired about the middle of last year, when the Russians commenced their advances. Whether the prediction will be verified remains to be seen. Its verification, in the liberation of the doomed city, would be most remarkable. But, beyond all doubt, the retribution exhibited in its subjugation was most memorable. There is nothing like it in the annals of the world, except the siege of Jerusalem.

That fair Christian city, however, fell under the yoke of

the infidel; the Church of Santa Sophia, in which a St. Chrysostom had preached, was converted into a Mahomedan mosque: and all the other churches in which the Adorable Sacrifice had been offered, were yielded up to the like horrible sacrilege. We do not envy the mind which can contemplate such an event and realize all its results, without feelings of profound regret. The Turkish conquerors regarded Christianity with such supreme contempt, that they tolerated it for very scorn. This is the real source of that tolerance which the admirers of Mahomedanism talk of. It is surely the result of an intense contempt for Christianity, which does not condescend to interfere with the "dogs of infidels." From this contemptuous feeling, the Christians were permitted to exercise their worship—in such obscure edifices as they could procure—all their churches being changed into mosques. The Mahomedan policy, however, like that of Protestantism—being based on a complete confusion of the spiritual and temporal, the Turkish conquerors condescended so far to take notice of their Greek subjects, as to compel them to solicit *the Sultan's installation of their Patriarch*: a degradation which has continued down to this day. In imposing it, the insolent infidels appeared to have borrowed an idea from bad Catholics, for it is pretty much the same sort of usurpation as that which the German emperors, and the English and French kings set up in their respective countries, of investing and installing the Archbishops appointed by the Holy See. It was, indeed, a degradation hitherto unheard of, that Christian prelates should be installed not only by laymen, but by *infidels*. So it was, however, a most appropriate punishment for schism. The Greek Church had proudly rejected the authority of the Holy See. It now groaned under the debasing yoke of the unbeliever. Thus commenced the Turkish rule in Constantinople. It was a retribution upon schism. The City is Christian in its origin. It stands on Christian ground. Its only noble memories are Christian. For ten centuries it had been the Christian Patriarchate of the East since it received the name of the first Christian emperor. It had heard the voice of canonized saints. It had known a greater than Constantine. And now the city, sacred to St. Chrysostom, was, and ever since has been, (sad consequence of schism and heresy,) under an obscene and odious domination.



So little do the great body of the people of this country care about Church history, that we are not sure we should be telling them anything of interest in informing them of these facts, and reminding them that Constantinople is of *right* a Christian city, and only ceased to be so by a cruel conquest.

In one of the little publications we have placed at the head of this article, some interesting facts are stated as to "the position the Sovereigns of Russia have held in reference to the Greek Church, ever since the subversion of the Greek empire by the Turks in 1453, placed them in the position of its natural protectors." The writer says: "They then became and still remain the only sovereigns in Europe who hold that faith, and who were always appealed to for protection in cases of persecution or emergency. One of the very many gross mistakes made on the subject of Russian influence over the Greeks is, that it is of recent date. Now it began with the first hour of Ottoman rule, and the first moment of Greek slavery. Ivan III. reigned in Russia when the Greek empire fell, and he married a princess of the Imperial family of Constantinople, Sophia, the sister of Michael Palæologus. It was on this occasion that the ancient arms of Russia, a St. George on horseback, were dropped, and the Imperial Greek eagle, a black eagle with two heads, assumed in their stead." We stop to observe how remarkable and lamentable a crisis was this, and how significant its signs. The consummation of schism resulted in the triumph of Mahomedanism. Heresy and Islamism were established in Europe at the same time: the fall of the Greek Christian empire of the east was contemporaneous with the rise of the schismatic empire of Russia, and the infidel power of Turkey: and when the crescent displaced the cross in Constantinople, the old Catholic symbol of St. George was discarded in Moscow, and the standard of the defunct Greek empire exalted in its stead: a striking indication of that absorption of the spiritual with the temporal, which was embodied in the Russian, as it afterwards was in the Anglican schism—represented in the substitution of the idea of earthly conquest for that of ancient Catholicity.

Few passages in history have a more melancholy interest, than those which narrate the last efforts of the Popes to rouse Christendom to resist the progress of the infidel.

It is just four hundred years ago, since Nicholas V. made a proclamation for a general crusade in vain. Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks—and though his successor, Calixtus II. whose exaltation had been foretold to him by St. Vincent de Ferrers, and who “had vowed, while Cardinal, to combat with all his force against the Turks, and wrest, if possible, Constantinople from their hands—renewed the proclamation, and sent legates into every Christian country to preach the Cross,” yet, as Döllinger adds, “his glowing zeal for the common cause of Christendom met with no response in the courts of Europe.” Pius II. convoked an assembly for the same object, and it was resolved to exert every effort in the prosecution of the war. But alas! the result did not correspond with the resolve! The effect of the decline of Catholic feeling is painfully apparent. And so far had France descended from her high position as champion of Christendom, that the University of Paris disputed the contributions demanded by the Holy See for the Turkish war. “The disappointment of the expectations which he had placed on the co-operation of the Christian powers did not damp the ardour of the Pope. He resolved as a last resource to place himself at the head of an army against the Turks, who had now made themselves masters of Bosnia and Slavonia. ‘It may be,’ he said, ‘that when the Christian princes of Europe behold their aged father and teacher, the Pope—the Vicar of Christ—a man advanced in years, oppressed by sickness and infirmity—subjecting himself to the privations of a foreign expedition—they will be ashamed to remain at home.’” An eloquent bull, says Döllinger, again summoned the princes and the people to the combat: but the voice, which three hundred years before rallied hundreds of thousands to arms rung, in that age of slothful indifference and disgraceful self-seeking,—almost in vain. In June, 1464, Pius left Rome, to embark at Ancona, where the Venetian fleet was to meet him. He arrived in a weak state of health. His grief at seeing the weak efforts of this his last attempt, accelerated his decease, and he died the same year, after conjuring the Cardinals to prosecute the war with all the powers of the Church.” But, alas! the Church was now on the eve of “those days of ease and scandal” which preceded the Reformation, and the results of the Refor-

mation were decisive. If tepidity had been favourable to the infidel, heresy was infinitely more so.

Pope Boniface the Ninth had, as Dr. Newman mentions, at the close of the fourteenth century, issued a Bull in which he said, "It crowns our anguish to reflect that the whole of Christendom, which, if in accord, might put an end to the miseries which horrify the mind, is either in open war country with country, or if in apparent peace, is secretly weakened by mutual jealousies and animosities." "When," says Rainaldus, "the Turks might have been expelled from the Greek empire, Christians, torn to pieces by their quarrels and *schisms*, lost a sufficient opportunity." "In vain," says Dr. Newman, "did Pope after Pope raise his warning voice and point to the judgment which hung over Christendom. Constantinople fell." Thus things did but go on worse and worse for the interest of Christendom. The taking of Constantinople was not the limit of the Ottoman successes. Mahomet the conqueror was but the seventh of the great Sultans who carried on the fortunes of the barbarian empire. An eighth, a ninth followed. Then came the greatest of all—Soliman the Magnificent, contemporary of the emperor Charles V., Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England. Then followed Sultan after Sultan, each greater than his predecessor. The line of Popes had many bright names to show, Pontiffs of piety, learning, and energy: but where was the destined champion of Christendom? He appeared at the time when the Ottoman Crescent had passed its zenith, and was beginning to descend the stage. The Turkish successes began in the middle of the eleventh century, they ended in the middle of the sixteenth." By this Dr. Newman means to explain that their conquests ended. Their aggressions did not: their contests with Christendom continued down to about our own time, and for the whole of the seventeenth and half the eighteenth centuries endangered Europe.

After taking Constantinople, the Turks utterly overthrew the Greek empire, and conquered all its dominions, including Wallachia and Moldavia, Servia, and Bosnia. Solyman the Great, in the early part of the sixteenth century, subdued Belgrade and Bude—invaded Hungary—and even advanced into Austria and laid siege to Vienna; menacing the very existence of the House of Hapsburg, and spreading terror throughout Christendom. The cause

of their successes is to be found not only in their deadly enmity to Christianity, but in the unhappy divisions among Christians. The same spirit of heresy and schism which had betrayed the Eastern Church to the infidels, now threatened to lay under their yoke the Western. A yet more fatal heresy than that of the Greeks—a far more ruinous schism than that of Constantinople had now arisen. Protestantism was in existence, and was soon found in instinctive alliance with Mahomedanism, an alliance which has continued to our own time. The Lutherans hailed the invasions of the Turks as diversions in their favour: Luther used his influence to prevent such a league among Christian princes as would have made head against the infidels, and Solyman showed his appreciation of the assistance by calling him a good man.

Unhappily—from jealousy of Austria, France withheld her assistance from the cause of Christendom, and more intent on humbling her enemy than destroying heresy—united with the infidel. The effect of this was to make the Sultan sovereign arbiter of Europe: and the disgraceful spectacle was presented of Christian princes cringing to the truculent Turk, to gain his assistance and his support. He expressed the most bitter scorn for them: a feeling in which it is impossible not to sympathize. He taunted them with their *dissensions*, and their disobedience to the Pope, whom they acknowledged as their common Father. Surely since the time when Balaam was rebuked by his ass, there never was a more humiliating lesson! He told them that they ought to be ashamed of their conduct, and that if they desired peace, they ought to begin by restoring the treasures of the territories which they had taken from each other. Of the Emperor he spoke in terms of crushing sarcasm. “He is waging war in Italy: and at the same time threatens the Turks with war, and the Lutherans with a forced conversion. He talks of assembling Catholics and Protestants in a council, and has not the power to realize his promises.” The point of this sarcasm was—that Charles cared more for territorial conquest, than for the support of the faith, and that was true enough. “Were I,” said the insolent Ottoman, “to desire such a thing, I would compel the members of the two communities to unite with one another in religion. He takes titles which do not belong to him. How can he dare to entitle himself *King of Jerusalem*? Does he not know that it

is the Grand Seignior who is master at Jerusalem? I know that Christian nobles visit Jerusalem in the garb of beggars; I will for the future issue orders forbidding any Christian to go to the place." Amidst all this insolence of the infidel, we cannot help seeing his intense contempt for the Christian princes, on account of their indifference to the interests of their religion. The Turks despised them for their want of zeal in behalf of the Holy Places. And truly the contempt was merited. We find Francis dishonouring his country and scandalizing Europe by the first treaty of alliance and amity a Christian monarch had concluded with the infidels, and a quarter of a century after, exactly three hundred years ago, Charles disgraced the close of his long career, by the first treaty for establishing heresy. Thus we find the two greatest Catholic monarchs entering into leagues, one with Lutheranism, the other with Mahomedanism, simply for the sake of an unchristian and selfish policy, for the mere purpose of the better enabling them to gratify their mutual jealousy. Christian kings, in order to cripple and humble each other, conclude alliances with heresy and infidelity! In the treaty with the Turks, the French made no stipulations about the Holy Places—but were satisfied with a simple promise from the Sultan that he would protect the Catholics and the Holy Places. This was the first exercise of French influence in the diplomatic way for that object, a feeble substitute, diplomacy, for the old Catholic chivalry! From that time, France has always been found in amity with Turkey, for the sake of preserving her traditionary policy of humbling the house of Austria. When Pius V. solicited the aid of France against the Turks, she pleaded her accursed alliance with them; and it was a Prince of the House of Austria who had the glory of achieving the great victory of Lepanto: previously to which, the Sultan had maintained for years a severe contest with the united forces of the Pope and the Emperor, placing Vienna and Venice in jeopardy, and putting Austria under tribute.

One of the finest passages in Dr. Newman's book is that in which he describes the character of Pius V., and his labours to rouse Christendom against the common enemy.

"It is not to be supposed that the Saint should neglect the tradition which his predecessors, of so many centuries had be-

queathed to him of zeal and hostility against the Turkish power. At the same time the Ottoman armies were continuing their course of victory: they had just taken Cyprus, with the entire co-operation of the Greek population, and were massacring the Latin nobility and clergy, and mutilating and flaying alive the Venetian governor; yet the Saint found it impossible to move Christendom to its own defence. How indeed was this to be done, *when half Christendom had become Protestant, and secretly, perhaps, felt as the Greeks felt, that the Turk was its friend and ally?* In such a quarrel England, France, and Germany were out of the question. At length he succeeded in forming a holy league. He proclaimed a jubilee to the whole Christian world, for the happy issue of the war."

And then the illustrious writer describes, as only he could, the glorious victory of Lepanto, which was signalized by the adding to our Lady's Litany, the title, "Help of Christians." "This victory was the turning point," says Dr. Newman, "of Turkish history: and though the Sultans have had isolated successes since, yet from that day they undeniably and certainly declined: they have lost their *prestige* and self confidence, and the victories gained over them since are but the complements and reverberations of the overthrow at Lepanto." Dr. Newman quotes Alison, who says, "The battle of Lepanto arrested for ever the danger of Mahomedan invasion in the South of Europe," and also cites Von Haumer: "The sea-fight of Lepanto is a signal in the history of the Ottoman empire for a *period of decline*."

But it was a *long* period of decline; and the progress of decline was *slow*: nor, for a century was it very perceptible. The Turks were still a pest of Christendom: though no longer its conquerors.

It was in pursuance of her unworthy policy, that France fomented those unhappy divisions in Germany, which were taken advantage of by Gustavus Adolphus, who, under a pretence of zeal for the Reformation, convulsed Christendom by his ravages, and exposed it to the stealthy and sanguinary inroads of the infidels. This was the secret of the unchristian policy of Richlieu, and in the long reign of Louis XIV. the same spirit dictated a jealousy of the Holy See, and indifference to the progress of the Turks, established Gallicanism, and encouraged Mahomedanism. Is it not a significant circumstance that in this very reign arose the power of Russia?

It would seem as if she were raised up to support Aus-



tria, and supply the place of France in the defence of Christendom against the enemies of the Cross. For three centuries France had abandoned her old Catholic policy, for the meanest of purposes,—and now as if in retribution, arose a gigantic schismatic power, to assume the post she had vacated, and acquire an influence for which she had proved herself unworthy.

The ultimate result of the Reformation in Germany was in the early part of the seventeenth century, the thirty years' war: of which Schlegel speaks, as "thirty years' havoc, in which the early civilization and the noblest energies of Germany were destroyed: a religious war, than which none was ever so widely extended, and so complicated in its operations, so protracted in duration, and entailing misery on so many generations."\* "Of that war, one of the worst results was the letting loose among Christian states a spirit of unprincipled aggression, a pretence of religious zeal in the protection of the cause of religious liberty." We need not do more than remind our readers of the part played by Gustavus Adolphus in this disastrous period: the part of a selfish spoliator, and unscrupulous aggressor. We have already devoted an article to the subject,† and on this occasion all we need add is, that it was against Russia among other powers, that his aggressions were directed, and that he wrested from her then unformed empire, the countries which bound the Gulf of Finland, and the Baltic sea, in Livonia, Courland, and Prussian Poland, the subsequent reconquest of which, by Russia, we constantly hear referred to as "aggressions" on her part against the peace of Europe, and the integrity of the Northern states. The battle of Leipsic delivered Europe from her Protestant liberator, but he left behind him a spirit which in his own successor, Charles XII., and his imitator, Frederick of Prussia found equally pernicious impersonation, long before Russian "aggression" was heard of. With what motives Sweden had embarked in the war in which she pretended to be the champion of the Protestant religion, is plain from her disappointment when the treaty of Prague deprived her of Pomerania: and the eagerness with which she renewed

---

\* Philosophy of History, Lect. xvi.

† See the Dublin Review, vol. 29.

the war, palpably for no other purpose than territorial aggression.

In the early part of the seventeenth century, contemporary with league Protestant Princes, and intrigues of Catholic France against the Austrian Empire, we find the Turks ravaging Poland, and receiving humble embassies from the Emperor for peace. The insolence with which the Ottomans demeaned themselves towards the sovereigns of Christendom is inconceivable. The ambassadors had to bow their heads into the dust before the Sublime Porte. The Sultan, Mahomet IV., boasted that he had partly enslaved Hungary, and caused Germany to tremble. "The Christians," he exclaimed, "those deadly enemies of our *holy religion*—acknowledge their weakness, and are expecting every moment to see themselves ours by conquest." The first hostilities between the Russians and the Ottomans began at this era: about the time of the peace of Westphalia in Germany. And curiously enough the Russians first appear in European history as the protector of Poland. The Sultan invaded and overran that country, imposing upon it such an oppressive yoke, and roused the nation to a gallant resistance, which caused a tremendous reaction in Europe, and turned the tide of war against the Turks, under the heroic Sobieski. At this era, France was playing her characteristic game of diplomacy, and earning a fame for treachery even with the Turks themselves. Very different was the course pursued by Poland, and soon to be imitated by Russia. Towards the end of the century, Poland being threatened with another invasion from the Turks, Russia threatened them with her opposition. The "Sublime Porte" was enraged; and replied with the utmost contempt. A tremendous war ensued, in which Turkey sustained a terrific struggle with Austria, Poland, Russia, Hungary, and Venice, and pursued them even to the gates of Vienna. Nothing can more strongly show the jeopardy of Christendom from the terrible infidel power. At this momentous era, as the star of Poland seemed to set with Sobieski, the star of Russia seemed to rise with Peter the Great.

It was in 1683, that Sobieski raised the siege of Vienna, and in the same year Peter ascended the throne of Russia. When the Polish chivalry chased the Ottoman legions out of Austria, the contest between the Crescent and

the Cross was only removed to another scene, and renewed, in a series of contests between the Sultan and the Czar, continued down to the present time. In those contests it was not always, nor was it originally, the Russians who were the aggressors. When Peter commenced his career, Christendom was on the defensive against the most ferocious assaults of Mahomedanism; and when, before scarcely ten years had passed, he gained his great victory over the Turks, and achieved the conquest of Asoph, the most important acquisition of the yet nascent empire, it seemed as just a retribution as any that the Polish hero had ever inflicted: and the conqueror was quite as much, or quite as little, actuated by religious motives in the one case as the other. No one can suppose that Sobieski was a disinterested defender of the Austrian empire, or a champion of Christendom simply from a zeal for Christianity. On the contrary we know that he coveted territorial acquisitions from the Turks, quite as much as ever did a Russian sovereign; and his latest efforts were as eagerly directed towards the acquisition of Moldavia, as those of Peter were exerted for territorial aggrandisement in another quarter. One succeeded; the other did not: but it seems idle to consider the one as an aggression any more than the other. Whatever their motives, they in *fact* only inflicted upon the Turks well merited chastisements, for sanguinary and remorseless assaults on Christendom, and the commencement of what are called Russian aggressions upon Turkey, was as much entitled to be considered retaliatory, as the war which was carried by Sobieski across the Danube. Moreover, it must be remarked, that the Russians had already endured the yoke of that Tartar race from whom the Turks had arisen. The Turks, therefore, were old enemies of theirs. There must have been strong traditional animosity against them among the Russians. Scarce two centuries had elapsed since they had shaken off the iron bondage, which the Turks were yet striving to force upon the adjoining countries of Christendom. Russia was certainly ever a natural ally of Austria, and the inevitable foe of Turkey, in this great contest. It is but fair to observe, that the common policy of Europe was at this time hostility to the Turks; and Russia, under Peter, merely participated in it.

With Peter the Great, every one knows, began the

influence of Russia in Europe. Hardly one hundred and fifty years have elapsed since the taking of Asoph—the first maritime conquest of the rising power; and it is exactly that period since the foundation of St. Petersburg. That the power of Russia was required as a bulwark against the Ottoman aggression, and that there was yet danger from its advances, is shown by this, that the consequence of the fiery career of Charles XII. of Sweden, renewing the Protestant policy of Gustavus, dividing and weakening Christendom for the sake of selfish conquest, was to place Austria once more in jeopardy from her ancient enemy, and just before a cannon-ball relieved Europe of its pest, Prince Eugene had to fight a mighty battle with the Infidels on the plains of Peterwardien. In the struggle with Sweden, Russia sought only the restoration of the country round the head of the gulf of Finland, which formerly had belonged to her: and she succeeded in recovering Finland, Courland, and Livonia, including Riga and Revel, thus securing the navigation of the Baltic. These countries had been previously conquered by Sweden: on the part of Russia they were only reconquered, confirmed by the peace of Nieustadt. And though in the course of this contest Russia lost her recent acquisition of Asoph, and the navigation of the Black sea, so soon as she was relieved from the war with Sweden, she recovered it, and conquered the Crimea.

In the last year of the seventeenth century the treaty of Carlowitz was concluded, on the part of Austria and Poland, with the Turks; the first in which they had to submit to some restraint of their inordinate encroachments; the first in which the modern system of “balance of power” is to be discerned,—that is to say, a territorial adjustment under the arbitrament of various contending or concurring powers. This treaty relieved Christian princes from the disgrace of tribute to the infidel, but inflicted upon them the dishonour of an entire though tacit, abandonment of the Holy Land. It is not even *mentioned*. The spirit of territorial acquisition had displaced the old traditionary policy of Christendom. The age of chivalry was gone, and the glory of Europe was extinguished for ever; the age of calculators and sophisters, economists and politicians, had commenced! It was the age of Protestantism rampant and Gallicanism triumphant,—Catholicism depressed, and consequently the

ancient Catholic spirit of Christendom sunk and destroyed.

However, after satisfactorily settling territorial questions, Austria did do something for the religious,—in the way of *diplomacy*. Firmans were procured from the Porte to protect the Catholic priests at Jerusalem from intrusion on the part of the Greek and Syriac bishops; and the Sultan assigned to the Catholics of the three contracting powers the churches of St. John and of the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Sepulchre, the Convents of Bethlehem and Nazareth, and other sacred places, and authorized the reception of pilgrims. France, by the same policy of diplomacy, favoured similar privileges. Next year, in 1700, the treaty of Asoph was concluded between Russia and Turkey, by which Russia secured that port, and some small territorial acquisitions, and also stipulated for protection to her pilgrims in travelling to Jerusalem.

It is melancholy to observe here greater zeal for religion on the part of the schismatic Russians, than on the so-called Catholic powers of Austria and France. Russia made protection to her pilgrims a *sine qua non* in her treaty; whereas the other two powers utterly neglected the interests of religion until they had settled all secular matters by treaty, and then made it merely a subject of a little additional diplomacy.

This era is remarkable as marking the rise of that rival protectorate of schism, which Russia has ever since assumed in opposition to the protectorate of Catholicism exercised by France. The sequel of these treaties is sadly instructive of the ruinous results of schism. The Greek priests, enraged at the efforts of Catholic missionaries to convert the schismatics, induced the Greek Patriarch to imprison some of them, and the Sultan was appealed to. Melancholy spectacle! too often, alas! beheld in the history of the last ten centuries,—Antichrist called in to arbitrate between contending communities of Christians! the arm of the infidel invoked by schismatics against Catholics! The Grand Vizier's answer breathed that spirit of intense contempt for Christianity which has ever animated Mahomedans. He reproached the Christians with their divisions, and treated with scorn their distinctions. "What are Catholics?" he enquired; "are they not infidels?" The answer being in the affirmative, he exclaimed, "Good.

The Sublime Porte cannot trouble itself with the differences between them and their brother infidels."

However, the apathy of the Turks was so far aroused, or the influence of the Greeks so far prevailed, that the Jesuits were driven from Palestine;—a very significant indication that their labours had alarmed both the infidels and the schismatics. We hear nothing of any effective intervention by Austria or France to protect Catholicity. Their sole anxiety appears to have been for territorial acquisition and temporal aggrandizement.

Not twenty years had elapsed since the treaty of Carlowitz, when war was renewed between Austria and Turkey, merely for the sake of territory; and the treaty of Passarowitz, which secured Austria, Belgrade, and a part of Servia, shows no care for the interests of Catholicity. In 1727 we find the schismatic Greeks again complaining to the Porte of the labours of the Jesuits; and in a spirit eminently characteristic of schism, they seem to have disclaimed all idea of attempting conversions among the Turks, in order to ingratiate themselves with the infidels, and expose their opponents to their anger. The unchristian artifice so far succeeded, that the Jesuits were again denounced, and the Greeks took advantage of the occasion to burn a Catholic church; all this time France had sought to exercise an influence over the Porte not at all for Catholic objects, but purely for the sake of policy; and the same principle of expediency had found an ally in England. Here we see the rise of that coalition between England and France, to counteract the progress of Russia towards Constantinople which has, with occasional interruptions, continued to the present time. The very fact of such a coalition, of course, shows that there was nothing *Catholic* in the policy of France; that it was a mere question of political power.

The treaty of Hanover in 1725 united France and England against Russia and Austria. These alliances were the result, the first of the hereditary jealousy between the courts of Paris and Vienna; and the second of natural necessity, and obvious interest. Mr. Coxe very truly observes, that, in consequence of Russia's vicinity, and contests with the Turks, her interests were inseparably united with those of Austria. Under the long administration of Walpole the alliance of Austria was disregarded, and the hostility of France against her abetted and encouraged.



This, of course, tended more and more to throw Austria into the arms of Russia; the effect of which was apparent, about this time, in their united interposition in the affairs of Poland—an interposition, however, which had the sanction of England. Under the administration of Fleury Austria had been deprived by France of part of her dominions in Italy; and when, in 1736, Russia endeavoured to wring from the Turks the acquisitions which had been made by Peter the Great, but lost in consequence of the interposition of Sweden, Austria engaged in the war, partly from gratitude to Russia on account of her resistance in the struggles with France, partly from a desire to compensate for the territorial losses in Italy by conquests in Turkey, and partly upon the old Catholic principle, of defending Christendom against the incursions of the Infidel. The first campaign terminated disadvantageously to Austria, being everywhere unsuccessful. The next campaign was similar in character; while the Russians were overrunning the Crimea, the Turks made rapid progress towards Vienna, and threatened to besiege the Austrian army in Belgrade. At this crisis French intrigues entrapped the Austrian generals to a most disgraceful negotiation, in the course of which they endured outrageous indignities from the Turks, (the Bashaw of Bosnia spitting in the face of the Austrian general)—and which ended in the Peace of Belgrade, so dishonourable to Austria, but still more discreditable to France, by whose iniquitous agency it was effected; a treaty under which Belgrade was surrendered, and the cession of Servia and Wallachia submitted to. It was only by treachery and French intrigue that this was consented to by the Emperor; for the Turks were anxious to obtain peace, and the Russians had made advances on Moldavia. Truly might the Emperor say: “The history of past ages exhibits no vestiges of such an event!” One Christian power betraying another into the hands of the infidel; and carrying out this vile agent, and yet viler means, for the most mean and miserable motives of political jealousy and selfish interest. Well might it have been said of France, the “age of chivalry is gone!” But Louis XIV. reigned. His very name is an explanation of everything vile. Most instructive is the union of national demoralization, subjugation of the Church, and a treacherous betrayal of a Christian Prince to the Infidel. The annals of perfidy

and depravity record nothing more execrable than the artifices by which Villeneuve tricked the court of Vienna into a disastrous treaty with the Turks. Alas! that is not the only instance in which French diplomacy has acquired an odious celebrity for iniquity, and for art.

Mr. Coxe says the aim of France was to divide the Emperor from the Czarina—to prevent any dismemberment of the Turkish dominions, and counteract the aggrandisement of the power of Austria.\* And that Villeneuve boasted, that in making the peace of Belgrade, he had rendered a more effectual service to France than if he had gained a complete victory. Coxe adds that the treaty gave rise to new cavils, which were artfully protracted by the intrigues of France, who thus maintained her ascendancy over the contracting powers—that Cardinal Fleury, who then ruled France, filled all the courts of Europe with his intrigues, endeavouring to isolate the house of Austria by uniting her enemies—that France wholly governed the councils of the Porte, and by means of reciprocal treaties, seized a pretext for interference in the future disputes of the Turks with the Christian powers. By her influence also Sweden was induced to make an offensive alliance with the Porte. In 1768 France instigated Turkey to commence a war against Russia, in which the rapid successes of Russia aroused the jealousy of Austria, although she had received powerful aid from her great neighbour in her deadly struggle with Prussia. Thus, under these circumstances, “Prussia projected the partition of Poland, (here we quote Mr. Coxe,) and the distracted state of that country, and the relative situation of the neighbouring powers, seemed to offer a favourable moment for the fulfilment of his plan. Aware that *Russia was interested to oppose a dismemberment*, he endeavoured to secure the concurrence of Austria, and by their joint efforts, to extort the acquiescence of Catherine while she was involved in a Turkish war.” At the same time she restored her other conquests to the Turks, “exacting,” as Mr. Coxe says, “such stipulations relative to their privileges and religion, as afforded her a pretext to interfere in the affairs of those provinces;” and which recent events have shown how well she has known how to take advantage of.

---

\* Hist. of House of Austria, vol. 3, c. 119.

It is perfectly plain, upon this statement, that the great object of Russia has ever been to advance towards Constantinople rather than Cracow ; and that the East and not the West is the scene of her ambition. It is true that she had been for some time interfering in the affairs of Poland ; but it will be clear, on a little closer examination of the question, that, as the Protestant historian was of opinion, her interest was rather to maintain that country independent, although under her influence, as a bulwark against Sweden, a counterpoise to Prussia, and a check upon Austria. The aims of Russia were in an opposite direction. Over and over again had she been rapidly progressing towards their realization when she had been checked by the Swedish aggression ; and Prussia was now a great military power, capable of becoming a yet greater foe. To uphold Poland was therefore her obvious interest, in order to enable her to prosecute her policy in the East ; and it is plain that Prussia and Austria thought they had made good terms for themselves in getting Russia to accept a share of Poland, allowing them the remainder, and relinquishing Moldavia and Wallachia. Nor is this all. We have seen how Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles XII. of Sweden, had taken advantage of the dissensions caused by Protestantism in Germany, to prosecute their rapacious policy. Frederick of Prussia pursued the same course in Poland. The miserable results of the Reformation there remained in deep-seated religious animosities, which he fomented and fostered to the utmost. The different sects of Protestants were termed the "dissidents," who found in her patrons and protectors. It is not to be wondered at that the policy of the Protestant power of Prussia should be imitated by the schismatic power of Russia. And when the Polish government revived the ancient Catholic constitution of the country, excluding the "dissidents" from the diet, these powers encouraged the formation of confederacies, which split up the nation into factions, and prepared the way for dismemberment. But in all this Russia only pursued a Protestant policy, and followed Protestant precedents and Protestant examples. Her aim, we repeat, was towards the East. And this, by reason of the religious character of her people.

The Russian Church being an offshoot of the Greek, of course has retained a sympathetic relation with it, and has followed its fate, doomed, like its parent, to show how,

in schism, even faith degenerates into superstition, and fervour into fanaticism. That rude, but deep devotion which, in the middle ages, led millions over Europe to the Holy Land, has never died away in the East. And so long ago as the 17th century, the Greeks began to dispute with the Catholics the custody of the Holy Places; indeed, acquired for a time the exclusive possession of Churches in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, to which they had no real title. But though French influence, as we have shown, was exercised with the Porte, in the way of diplomacy, in favour of Catholicity; though, in 1670 a special embassy from France succeeded in so far displacing the Greeks, as to reinstate the Catholics in their former position; and though, in the treaty of 1740 there was an article, securing to the French Franciscans, (who, for six centuries, have represented the Catholic Church in the Sacred Cities,) all the rights which, by ancient custom, they had enjoyed; still the religious element was not so predominant in French policy as in that of Russia.

By this time it must be clear that the religious element was made to enter far more largely into Russian policy, than into Austrian or French. We say *made* to enter, for we care not to discuss how far with her rulers it was a pretence, or used merely as a means for an end. We speak rather of the people than of their rulers; and it is perfectly plain, that if mixing up the religious element in the policy of Russia, tended to excite her people, it could only be because they were capable of excitement on such a subject. They had a religious enthusiasm which turned their eyes towards Constantinople, and the policy of their rulers took that direction. In the middle of the last century, under Catherine II., Greek monks in Georgia and Montenegro agitated the people by a prediction of the restoration of the Greek Church and empire, and the expulsion of the Turks by the Russians. The war which then broke out between Russia and Turkey had all the character of a religious war, and flamed on both sides with all the fury of a fanaticism. In Constantinople the "holy standard" was brought out of the mosque of Santa Sophia as the symbol of a struggle for the Moslem faith, and a massacre of the Christians in the city was the result of the fierce passions thus excited.

We repeat, the main object of Russia was in the East. It is time to exhibit what that object was. It is summed

up in one word—Constantinople. But that word had a far more potent meaning than the mere conquest of Turkey. It meant the restoration of the ancient Greek empire. It meant the ultimate acquisition of the sovereignty of half of Asia, to be added to the half of Europe. It meant the expansion of the mighty supremacy of the Czar—spiritual and temporal—over an empire vaster than the world ever saw, extending over two continents, and threatening to absorb the whole of one of them, and stretching its grasp from Moscow to Mecca—from St. Petersburg to Peking. To understand the *intensity* with which this one idea had already long presented itself to the minds of Russian sovereigns, and must, by this time, have firmly rooted itself in the hearts of the Russian people, we must recal what has been already noticed—the ancient religious relations of Russia to Constantinople. We must recollect that Constantinople would carry with it Palestine; we must remember that, as Russia, by her peculiar position, has been preserved, although in schism, from the religious revolutions which have produced liberalism in politics, and latitudinarianism in religion throughout the rest of Europe; and we must try and get a true idea of the character of the Russian nation, with reference especially to their religion, and their relations to their Church and their Czar.

In Russia the Czar is the head of their Church, and their Church came from Constantinople. We have already alluded to the conversion of the nation by the Greek Church, about the period when the seeds of schism were rapidly increasing into a fatal separation from the Holy See. Of course this produced a religious isolation from the rest of Europe—an isolation which was increased, when, in the seventeenth century, the Greek Church conceded to the Russian perfect independence—exonerating her patriarchs from applying to the See of Constantinople for confirmation. At the commencement of the eighteenth century Peter the Great abolished the patriarchal power, and constituted himself virtually the head of the Russian Church. But it is a most remarkable fact that he was favourable to the restoration of Russia to Catholic unity, which we need hardly remind our readers had been repeatedly attempted. Thus the temporal and spiritual sovereignty of Russia was united in the man to whom she owes all her modern greatness, and the claims of gratitude were associated with the sacredness of religion. From this era dates the rapid rise

of Russia; and the union of the ecclesiastical and civil power is associated in the Russian world with conquest, aggrandizement, and success. No wonder it is looked upon with veneration, the more so because the Russian mind is *religious*, and has been so during the sad three centuries which followed the reformation, and which, in the rest of Europe, have seen such an uprooting of religion and such a subversion of all principles of reverence, under indifference and latitudinarianism. Let us see what view a mind such as Schlegel's took of this interesting part of our subject. He says in his *Philosophy of History*:

"The greatness of Russia is built on a spirit of enlightenment that has excited a gradual but beneficial influence over the whole extent of the empire. It was well that, in copying the civilization of Europe, she should not introduce along with it those negative and destructive principles—those maxims of liberalism and irreligion which were almost exclusively prevalent in European literature and science during the eighteenth century; in a word, that Protestantism (in the wide and comprehensive signification of that term) should not become too predominant in the public mind. The great and essential point for this European and Asiatic Empire—the seat of a progressive enlightenment—is this, that this enlightenment, which is the basis on which this empire is founded, should never take an irreligious career, but should ever maintain a decidedly religious character."

And he shows that it has been so. It is impossible to overrate the effects of that religiousness of character which Russia has preserved ever since she first received Christianity. It is true that she originally received it with a schismatic taint, which has since produced fatal fruit; but Schlegel's remarks on this point breathe his beautiful union of charity and philosophy:

"The separation of the Russian Church from the authority of the Greek patriarch, who had now fallen under Turkish dependance, appeared a necessary condition for opening a door in Russia to the moral and intellectual civilization of Europe; nor, when we consider that such a step was but the continuation of an original schism, can we deem it a subject of blame. It does not appear, however, that the system of a national Church, which has sprung out of this separation, has been as much abused as in the Anglican Church, or in the system of anti-papal opposition nearly akin to it, adopted in one or more Catholic countries in Europe."



The religious feelings, then, of the Russians, infused in them a natural antagonism to Mahomedanism. The Russians, it must be remembered, are far nearer the Turks than we are; indeed, we are so distant, as to have none but commercial relations with them; whereas the Russians have them at their door—have, for three centuries, been continually at war with them; and to this it must be added that millions of Christians of the kindred Greek communion have for centuries groaned under the Ottoman yoke. Hence, as Balmez observes that in Spain, by reason of the wars with the Moors, the period of the Crusades was advanced and anticipated; in Russia it has been retarded or prolonged. The fact is that the Russians are now in the age of the Crusades; and Lacordaire falls upon the same expression in speaking of Russia as Balmez uses with reference to the crusaders: "They were not nationally *adults*." The description Balmez gives of the state of Europe at the era of the crusades is very applicable to Russia. "The two opposite principles, barbarism and Christianity were face to face. The holiest maxims are proclaimed; legitimacy, law, reason, and justice are invoked—the tribunal of God is appealed to: this is the influence of Christianity. But you are afflicted with the sight of acts of violence—rapines and disasters; this is barbarism. If you look at the crusades you will observe that grand ideas, vast plans, noble inspirations, social and political views of the highest importance fermented in men's heads; that all hearts overflowed with noble and generous feeling, and that a holy enthusiasm, transporting men out of themselves, rendered them capable of heroic actions: this is the influence of Christianity. But if you examine the execution, you will see disorder, improvidence, injuries, violence: there is barbarism." Of course to a nation like Russia, in heresy and schism, the unfavourable aspect of this description is most appropriate, but still to the *nation* there is probably a good deal in the other view of it which is applicable. We might say as to them, with Balmez: "The nations fought in support of a principle by labouring to avenge an outrage offered to their religion; they were moved to contend to die for an idea, which, not limited to a small territory, embraced heaven and earth." The *people*, we repeat, are animated by these feelings.

The war which was fought against Turkey under the second Catherine was brief, but bloody; and it was the

first which closed disastrously for Ottoman dominion. It ended in the treaty of Karnardji, which paved the way for the conquest by Russia of the Crimea—Moldavia and Wallachia; and it particularly stipulated for the protection of Greek pilgrims to the Holy Land. But, above all, it secured for the Czars certain rights of protectorship over the Greek Christians and Churches all over the Turkish territories. It was predicted at the time that this protectorate would be made the means of advancing the progress of Russia to Constantinople; the limits of the protectorate could not fail to be a subject of controversy and contest; and that implacable aversion to Christianity which is essential to Islamism, while it furnished a plausible reason for the assertion of a right to protect it, would naturally be stimulated and irritated by the perpetual exercise of an interposing influence in its behalf, on the part of a power suspected to entertain designs of territorial acquisition. Indeed, it must have been always obvious that the very same feelings—assuming their sincerity—which led Russia to assert the right of protecting the Greek Church, must prompt her to endeavour to recover the seat of its former patriarchate—the metropolis of the ancient Greek empire. Hence there must necessarily arise mutual jealousy and suspicion, certain to lead to hostility. Fifteen years had not passed ere Russia was involved in another war with Turkey, which was closed (by the treaty of Jassy) still more advantageously for Russia, by the conquest of the Crimea, and part of Bessarabia, and the augmentation of her influence on Moldavia and Wallachia.

It was Catherine II., we are told by a modern Protestant historian, who, in consequence of her successes against the Turks, “conceived the romantic project of reviving the ancient name and power of the Greeks, and establishing a new empire at Constantinople. Inspired with this splendid vision, she gave to her second grandson the name of Constantine, clothed him in a Greek dress, procured him Greek nurses to instruct him in the Greek language, and struck a medal representing on one side the head of the young prince, and on the other a cross in the clouds, from which a flash of lightning demolished the mosque of Sta. Sophia.”\* We doubt whether this was the first time such ideas had entered into the mind of a Russian sove-

---

\* Coxe's Hist. of House of Austria, vol. iii. c. 122.

reign, on the contrary, we are convinced that they arose out of the most long cherished traditions and ancient remains of the Russian nation, although the state of Europe at that time may have encouraged their expression, and stimulated hopes of their realization. England had long been the ally of Russia, and Catherine hoped for her co-operation. But England had commenced her career of aggrandizement in India, and had no interest in promoting, what Coxe calls, "her schemes of Oriental grandeur." She turned, therefore, to Austria, and then began those relations between Russia and Austria, which have even remained to the present day. Austria, in the hopes of acquiring Moldavia and Wallachia, concurred in the conquest of the Crimea by Russia; and on the other hand, France equally consented to the acquisition, from jealousy of Austria. France succeeded for the time in frustrating the schemes of Austria, which were, however, some years after renewed, when the Turks had, with a rashness we have seen recently repeated in our own time, declared war against Russia, with a result signally disastrous.

Beaten, as with Turkey, in her contests with Russia, it is to be remarked, that she showed herself more than a match for Austria; and as the influence and intrigues of France were always directed against that power, it is plain that had the protection of Christendom rested with Catholic powers, it might have gone hard with Europe, even so lately as the latter part of last century. In the war of 1787, the Turks once more made such rapid progress in Austria, that again Vienna was made to tremble, and it was not until after repeated disasters—even with all the advantage of the powerful co-operation of Russia—that the House of Hapsburg was rescued from final destruction by a most disadvantageous treaty. It is impossible not to observe that Protestantism had weakened Christendom. The power which ought to have been an ample bulwark of Catholicism, is forced to lean upon the arm of schism, and sue for peace from Islamism. Just retribution for a rebellion against the Holy See, the expulsion of the Jesuits and a long course of policy inimical to the Church. Under Joseph the Austrian empire had learnt Gallicanism and succumbed before Mahomedanism, while the schismatic power of Russia triumphed over both.

This brings us down almost to the commencement of

the present century. It seems strange, but is so; it is scarce seventy years since Russia was found necessary as a bulwark for Christendom against Islamism. If even with all the benefit of Russian aid, Austria hardly saved herself by a precipitate peace, how would it have fared for her—for Europe—had the Russian empire not existed? It must appear as a bitter reproach, that Providence made the safety of Christendom depend on a schismatic power.

At the close of the last century, Gallicanism had spread to Austria, and rationalism was fast rising in France. Revolution, its fatal fruit, rapidly followed; and, amidst torrents of blood, the goddess of reason was enthroned in Paris. Constantinople was not then so infidel as Paris. Rationalism in France, Erastianism in Austria, and Protestantism everywhere,—Christendom was divided against itself; all union and co-operation was gone, and Europe was soon to be wrapt in a terrific war. Russia was the only region in which irreligion and revolution had not ruined the national strength, and spread desolation and ruin. Her strength was soon to be tested: and it was ordained for the youthful, but gigantic Rome, after saving Europe from the Turks, to rescue it from the inroads of revolutionary France.

At the commencement of the present century the great struggle had begun between England and France, and those powers contended together for the alliance of Russia and Turkey. The natural enmity of the latter could scarcely admit of amity with *both*; and France first exercised her ancient influence with the Porte, and induced it to break its treaties with Russia, by removing the Waivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia. Russia then invaded these districts; and England, apprehending that this would rivet the alliance of Turkey with France, endeavoured to force the Porte to submit to Russia, demanding for that power Moldavia and Wallachia, and for herself the occupation of the Dardanelles, and the command of the Turkish fleet. So audacious an "aggression" had never been attempted upon a *friendly* power; and as it would never be expected that it would be submitted to, except under compulsion, a British fleet endeavoured to commit at Constantinople what was afterwards perpetrated at Copenhagen—the destruction or the capture of the navy of her ally. The British fleet captured the forts of the Dardanelles, and eight Turkish ships of the line, and anchored in the bay

of Constantinople. The spirit of the Ottomans was roused by so monstrous an aggression; and the assailants thought it prudent to withdraw. This was in 1807. When the peace of Tilsit occurred not long after, Napoleon offered his mediation to obtain peace from Russia for the Porte, but the intrigues of England induced the Porte to refuse. The result was, that the war between Russia and Turkey continued until 1812, when it was terminated by the treaty of Bucharest. By this treaty the Porte would have lost Moldavia and Wallachia, had it not been that just before its completion Russia was again involved in war with France, and was in haste to conclude peace with the Porte. The mouths of the Danube—Bessarabia and a part of Moldavia—fell, however, into the hands of Russia, and the Pruth became the boundary between the two empires, or rather, between Russia and the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, nominally, part of the Turkish dominions, but under the protectorate of Russia, and almost practically a portion of the empire.

Ere long Russia had to repel French invasion, and we need not do more than recal to the recollection of our readers the heroism which the Russians displayed in that tremendous struggle, and the patriotism with which they rolled back the tide of war from Petersburg to Paris. The internal strength of Russia, the compact character of her empire, and the patriotic courage and devotion of her people were the themes of universal admiration. And at the peace no monarch was more popular in this country than the emperor of Russia, the brother of the present Czar, though it is notorious that he had eager longings for Constantinople. We heard nothing then of Russian despotism; our interests happened to be identical, and that was enough.

It was in quite another direction that English Catholicism against despotism found a theme. Scarcely had the peace of Europe been settled than it was disturbed by the struggle of the Greeks, to emancipate themselves from the oppressive thralldom of the Ottomans. That there was enthusiasm in England in favour of the Greek cause, the name of Byron would alone amply testify; but that it had nothing to do with *religion* the same name will equally bear testimony. It was mere sympathy with the oppressed, and abhorrence of the oppressor; if there were any sentiment in it less general and abstract in its nature, it was

purely poetical ; we need scarcely say that no one thought of the Greek Church. It was classic Greece that excited the sentiment ; they were Pagan associations which were connected with it ; it was an enthusiasm which sceptics could share in, and which burnt not for sacred soil. Had the struggle been for the Holy Land, the enthusiasm would hardly have arisen, and certainly the cause would have found no martyr in the author of *Childe Harold*. It was not as Christians, but as patriots, the Greeks were sympathized with. The Greeks themselves did not treat it as a contest between the Crescent and the Cross. It was merely a struggle for constitutional rights, aggravated by the atrocious character of Turkish rule. There was nothing of the mediæval spirit in it—nothing resembling the ancient Catholic ardour to rescue Christian men from the domination of the Infidel.

Incidentally, however, the contest seemed to exhibit the unchanged character of Mussulman rule, and its unchangeable atrocity.

It is hardly necessary to do more than remind our readers, that scarcely a quarter of a century ago, the oppression of the Ottomans upon the Greeks was so atrocious, as to arouse, on behalf of the latter, the sympathies of Europe, under whose auspices Greece achieved her independence. Of course Russia was in alliance with France and England, as a protector of the Greeks ; and the atrocities of the Turks aided her in pressing forward her policy of aggrandizement. Her ships of war, side by side with those of her allies, helped to destroy the Turkish navy in the bay of Navarino ; an event characterized by the Duke of Wellington as “untoward,” and which placed the House of Commons in this curious dilemma, that a vote of thanks to our admiral was opposed by the ministers of the Crown, because the attack had been upon the vessels of a *friendly power*. Untoward as it was for Turkey, it was propitious for Russia. Her progress seems certainly like retribution upon Turkey. At the commencement of 1828, the Porte banished all the Armenian Catholics from Constantinople to Angora, in Asia, without distinction of rank, sex, or age. In little more than a month Armenia was annexed to Russia, a conquest from Persia, who had been waging a war against Russia, under the influence of Turkey, and was now forced to purchase peace. In another month war was declared by Russia against Turkey,



in requital for this, and other acts of court hostility, declaring her object to be the inviolability of her right to navigate in the Black Sea and the Bosphorus. The present Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was then ambassador at Constantinople, Nicholas was then Czar, and Lord Aberdeen was our foreign minister. The noble Earl found it necessary, in the House of Lords, to declare it to be the policy of Great Britain to regard any considerable diminution in the power and territory of Turkey as injurious to the repose of Europe. The Russians rapidly achieved great successes. Under the auspices of the Emperor they crossed the Danube, won battle after battle, took town after town, and fought their way to Varna, Erzeroum, and Kalafat; while their naval forces captured a host of Turkish vessels, and blockaded the Bosphorus. At the close of the year 1829 was concluded the peace of Adrianople. This was the last treaty between the two nations, who had now been at perpetual war ever since the age of Peter the Great. We need not say that the stipulations of this treaty were yet more favourable to Russia than the last, and gave her greater power of finding pretexts for future interference in the affairs of Turkey with respect to the religious rights of the Christian population. By this treaty of Adrianople Russia acquired almost a right of sovereignty over Moldavia and Wallachia. The territory on the north of the left bank of the Danube was ceded to her, and it was stipulated that no Mussulmen should reside there.

It must be borne in mind that, as a Christian country, in close proximity with a Mahomedan nation, Russia had a right to protect her subjects, as much as possible, from that risk of connection which had proved so perilous in Spain so long as the Moors were allowed to remain there. And further, it is to be observed that Russia had a deep interest in the maintenance of order in provinces adjoining her own territories; and that the nature of Turkish rule is so disorderly, as to afford very inadequate security to the subjects, or the neighbours of the Porte. The various Pachas are under no due submission to the Sultan, and act with all the independence and violence of barbaric chiefs. A year or two after the treaty of Adrianople, this was exemplified in the rebellion of Mehemet Ali, the celebrated Pacha of Egypt. He actually menaced Constantinople after conquering

Syria, and Russia appeared in the new character of Protector to the Porte. Disastrous were the results of this dire struggle between Turkey and her rebellious vassal, to that sacred land in which, to a great extent, it raged. No tongue could tell, no pen could paint, the horrors Syria and Palestine endured,—not only during the contest, but also since,—in consequence of the disorganization which ensued. For ten years the struggle continued; and it is hard to say whether the Porte or the Pacha committed greater atrocities. It is impossible to exaggerate the horrible condition of the Christian population of those countries. It was not until 1840 that the contest was terminated by the treaty of London, in which Russia united with England, and France was left isolated, and which gave Syria once more to Turkey, and secured her Palestine on the death of Mehemet, leaving her the *hereditary* government only of Egypt. Although the contest related to the Holy Land, it had nothing to do with Holy Places. It was purely a territorial quarrel; and the interest of England and France in it was equally political. Egypt is the route to India, and Syria has shores on the Mediterranean. England has in India her richest treasure, and the aim of France is to make the Mediterranean a French lake. This suffices to explain the interest that France and England have taken in the Eastern question. The policy of France was then, and had long been, as much one of interest as that of England.

We need not remind our readers, however, that deeper questions and greater interests than those of territory or balance of power, are involved in the Eastern question; and first, the welfare of the Christian inhabitants of the Turkish empire.

It will have been observed, that in all the contests between Russia and the Porte, the Danubian Principalities, as they are termed, Wallachia and Moldavia, have been primary objects of contention. It was inevitable that this should be so, for they adjoin the Russian frontier, and their religious and political affinities link them rather to Russia than Turkey. They formed no part even of the Turkish empire as originally established in Europe, and were subsequently engrossed by conquest. Their religion is that of the Greek Church; substantially the same as the Russian; and of course they have no feelings but abhorrence for Islamism. In truth, this is the position of

nine-tenths of the subjects of the Porte. Monstrous to state, there are scarcely more than a million of Mussulmans in European Turkey; while there are 2,000,000 Albanians and Bulgarians, 3,000,000 Slavonians, Serbians, and Illyrians, 1,000,000 Greeks, and 4,000,000 Romanians or Wallachians; the rest of the population being Tartars, Franks, or Jews. Such a state of things as this has no parallel in modern history, and is monstrous and unnatural. Nine millions of Christians kept in subjection by a million of Mahomedans. The author of one of the cheap little works we have placed at the head of our article has given good observations on this point.

"The most fatal consequence of religious absolutism in the Ottoman Empire was the exclusion of the Greeks from the political State, from the army, and from public offices. For the first time, perhaps, in history,\* a people of conquerors were seen to establish themselves in the country of the conquered, and hold them in subjection, without incorporating them with themselves, and without according them, for several centuries, any possible means of social assimilation. Was this done to perpetuate a feeling of antagonism in the very heart of the empire? What was the position of these *rayas*, who were neither freemen nor slaves, and who had every day before their eyes the humiliating recollection of their defeat contrasted with the history of their ancestors, and the beauty of the country which they had lost? The least unfavourable result which such a state of things was calculated to produce, is, what we actually behold at the present day,—a foreign power, out of sympathy of religion, or from policy, stretching out its hand to these helots; for had the Christians not been pusillanimous, they would long since have thrown off the yoke of the Mussulmans, who are scarcely more numerous than themselves, if we take the whole extent of the empire into consideration, and who are numerically much inferior in Turkey in Europe. With the exception of the glorious war of independence which emancipated Greece Proper, the Christians of the East have never been good for anything but base intrigues and quarrels with the members of the Latin Church. But the state of degradation in which the Porte has kept the Greeks, contributed to maintain them in their unworthy position. It seems scarcely credible that out of thirty million subjects of the Sultan, (that is, in Europe and Asia) twelve millions are excluded from political and civil rights."

It should be borne in mind that the religion of the Mahomedans precludes intermarriage between them and Christians, so that no amalgamation can ever take place

---

\* Not the first time. The writer forgot Ireland.

between the two races, who remain from generation to generation strangers in blood and in religion.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that there should have been a gradual approximation in the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and Servia towards the Russian Empire. So long ago as the time of Sobieski we have seen that Austria rivalled Russia in her claims on these Christian provinces, but for the last two centuries the power of Russia has been in the ascendant, and has almost embraced them in the grasp of her empire. The insurrection of the Greeks, in its outbreak in 1820, broke out in these provinces as well as in Greece Proper, but only succeeded in the latter. There is every reason to believe that Russia did not desire the independence of the Danubian provinces. Her obvious aim, as they lie between her and Constantinople, has been rather to *incorporate* them; and with this object she at length succeeded in procuring a virtual separation from Turkey, erected as they were into Principalities under the Protectorate of Russia, with rulers not removable except with her consent. Such was the state of things at the establishment of the independence of Greece Proper, under the Protectorate of the four Powers, Russia being one of them.

It was a great precedent which Russia then aided in establishing, upon a principle fatal to the Turkish empire. The precedent was the erection of a Greek province of that empire into a separate kingdom, and the principle upon which it was done, was the incompatibility of the character and religion of the two nations, the conquerors and the conquered, and the miserable misrule of the conquerors. The principle applies to nearly the whole of the Turkish empire. The people of Wallachia Moldavia, and Servia, are as much Christians, and are as much entitled to the rights of citizens as the inhabitants of Greece Proper. It might not be necessary to their welfare that they should be independent—probably practically impossible that they should be so—but certainly they might justly claim something more like a government than the degrading domination of Mahomedanism; an admission into some empire in which they would find fraternity of feeling, sympathy of religion and equality of citizenship, all which they would find in Russia. The political sagacity of Napoleon led him to foresee that Russia would one day possess these provinces. Religious sympathy necessarily

gives Russia great influence over the various sections of the great Greek schism, not only in these provinces, but all over the Turkish Empire.

The writer of the pamphlet, "the Crescent and the Cross," gives early instances of Russian emperors being appealed to by the Greek Church for protection in cases of persecution. The first instance on record occurred as early as the year 1482, when Ivan Vasselvitch III. sent a message to the Grand Duke of Lithuania, threatening him with war if he did not desist from persecuting certain members of the Greek Church residing in his dominions, and in the year 1650, in the reign of Alexis Michaelovitch, the empire gained an immense accession of strength in return for the religious protection granted to the Cossack, who ended by revolting from the King of Poland, who persecuted their faith, and taking an oath of fidelity to the Czar. A notable instance of the light in which the Greeks looked on the Czars, is mentioned by Père Bracanne, a French missionary, who died in 1716. He had been sent to establish a mission at Thessalonica, and complained of having met with much annoyance from the Greeks in consequence of a report that the Roman Catholics wanted to murder the Czar, and that the Pope had sent emissaries to Russia for that purpose. The French consul was appealed to to remonstrate with the propagators of the slander. The missionary remarks, that if the calumny had been universally believed, it would have been sufficient to have overthrown the mission, as conformity of faith attached the Greeks to the Czars, whom they looked on as their future deliverers from the Turkish bondage. He also says that the Turks reproached the Greeks bitterly with being Muscovites at heart, and that when war broke out in 1711, between Russia and the Porte, the Greeks began to talk more openly on religious matters, and flattered themselves with the hope of a speedy deliverance from the Turkish yoke. The bond of spiritual union (between the Greek Church and the Russian,) was closely connected by the fact, that the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, was for a couple of ages the head of the Russian Church also, and was loftily styled the universal Patriarch. The war, which was terminated by the advantageous treaty of Kacnardji, more than ever endeared the Muscovite power to the Greeks; it was undertaken by the Empress Catherine, at the instigation of the Greek Pappao Oglon, who incited

the Empress on the one hand, and encouraged his countrymen on the other.

Among the Greeks themselves, says one of the writers we have referred to, "a vivid spirit of sympathy and partizanship in the projects of Russia for establishing a protectorate over them has long existed, and it was indeed natural that such should be the case. So far as a race, crushed by tyranny and degradation, could know the events or estimate the changes passing in the world around them, the Greeks in Turkey built hopes of help and deliverance from the interposition of the powerful nation who shared their faith, and whose sovereign chanced to be the head of their Church." As the Russian power became developed, as its frontier was pushed nearer, and its interference in Turkish affairs grew more active, the feeling among the Greek subjects of the Sultan grew stronger. The fact that in its European moiety, Turkey retained nine millions of Christian subjects under heavy bondage, to about three millions of Mahomedans, could never be overlooked either by its enemies or friends. When Russia first assumed an imperial position in Europe, when her Church had become national and independent by its separation from the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople, and her Czar became the absolute head of her Church, i. e. from the middle of the last century, she has steadily and strenuously sought to be recognized as the protector of the Greek subjects of the Porte. She has striven thus to convert the *independence* of her Church into *supremacy*, and as her Sovereign is its head, her claim of supremacy practically amounts to a claim of sovereignty. Thus, the union of the spiritual and temporal, makes the extension of her Church equivalent to conquest. And as she has shown for a century and a half such eager aspiration for the possession of Constantinople, it seems as if she sought, by re-establishing the Greek schism at Constantinople, to restore, under her own sovereignty, the Greek empire. Her advance in this direction has been gradual. In the treaty of Kainardji, in 1774, she acquired a right of simple intercession in behalf of the Christian population of Moldavia and Wallachia. In 1826, the right of intercession was converted into one of 'representation.' In 1829, the treaty of Adrianople conferred on her the right of *guarantee*. And in 1834, when the constitution of the two provinces was settled, they were erected into principalities under the *Protectorate*



of Russia. This could be supported upon no principle which would not equally apply to all the Christian subjects of Turkey; and although the case of the two principalities is stronger and more striking, the populations being almost exclusively Christian, it is only a difference in degree, since, throughout the Turkish empire, the Christians preponderate disproportionately, and as already observed, in European Turkey, overwhelmingly so. And, accordingly, at the present day, we see Russia claiming the prerogative of a similar protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte all over the Turkish empire, including Syria and the Holy Land. There, however, she comes into direct contact with the Catholic Church represented by France, and hence arises the great question of the Holy Places.

Before entering into this question, it is very necessary, in order to have a right understanding as to the spirit in which the Russian nation entered into it, to get a true idea of their character. Upon this subject, and on the degree to which, with them, the question was one of religion, we think there is a great deal of misapprehension. There is no book so calculated to convey vivid and correct ideas of the Russian character in this respect, as *Kohl's Petersburg*. From this interesting work we take an extract or two illustrating the state of Russia in its religion.

"Madame de Stäel, when she beheld Moscow from the elevation of the Kremlin, turned to her companions, and exclaimed, 'Voilà Rome Tatare!' The Russians themselves like to compare their city to that world-subduer of antiquity; and many as are the peculiarities that distinguish the one from the other, it is not to be denied that there are points wherein they assimilate, and among them is that of extreme toleration in the matter of religion. The capital of the Russians contains places of worship for all professions. In the finest street of St. Petersburg, the Neaskoi Prospekt, there are Armenians, Greek, Protestant, Roman Catholic, United, Disunited, Skunite, and Sekiite places of prayer in most familiar neighbourhood, and the street has, therefore, not inaptly received the soubriquet of Toleration Street. St. Petersburg, like Berlin, is a child of our days, a birth that first saw light under the sun of a philosophical age: in opposition to Moscow, as Berlin in opposition to Vienna. St. Petersburg has, however, neither so many nor such distinguished churches as Moscow, although the major part are built in a pleasing and tasteful style, in the modern Russian, which is a mixture of the Grecian Byzantine, old Russian, and new European architecture. The Byzantine, which we have brought from Constantinople with Christianity,

being the most prominent. A building in the form of a cross, in the midst a large cupola, and at the four ends four small narrow-pointed cupolas, the points surmounted by crosses, a grand entrance adorned with many columns, and three side entrances without columns; such is the exterior form of the greater part of the Russian churches, including the thirty churches of St. Petersburg, about one-tenth of the number dispersed through the streets of Moscow the Holy. In the former the interiors are lighter, brighter, more simple, more elegant; in the latter, more overloaded with ornament, darker, more varied in colour, more grotesque. The handsomest church in St. Petersburg is Isaac's Church. The exterior is furnished, it wants only the last decoration for the interior, the trophies and pictures of saints. This church stands in the largest and most open place in the city, in the midst of its finest buildings and monuments, The Winter Palace, the Admiralty, the War Office, Alexander's Pillar, and the Rock of Peter the Great, and will, when it has laid aside its mantle of scaffolding, show itself worthy of such neighbours. On the spot where it stands, they have been at work upon a place of worship for the last century. A wooden church was followed by a church of brick, a church of marble was then attempted, which failed, and was finished in brick. This half-and-half building vanished in its turn, and under Nicholas I. the present magnificent building was erected, which will scarcely find so splendid a successor. It is entirely composed of granite blocks and polished marble. To make it firm a whole forest of piles was sunk in the swampy soil. From the level of the upper part of Peter's place rise three broad flights of steps, which separately served the fabulous giants of the Flemish Mythology for the seats. They are formed from masses of granite rock, brought from Finland. These steps lead from the four sides of the building to the four chief entrances, each of which has a superb peristyle. The pillars of these peristyles are sixty feet high, and have a diameter of seven feet, all magnificent granite monoliths from Finland, buried for centuries in its swamps, till brought to light by the triumphant power of Russia, and rounded, polished, and erected as caryotides, to the honour of God in His temple. The pillars are crowned with capitals of bronze, and support the enormous beam of a frieze formed of six fine polished blocks. Over the peristyles, and at twice their height, rises the chief and central cupola, higher than it is wide, in the Byzantine proportion.

"It is supported also by thirty pillars of smooth polished granite which, although gigantic in themselves, look small compared to those below. The cupola is covered with copper overlaid with gold, and glitters like the sun over a mountain. From its centre rises a small elegant rotunda, a miniature repetition of the whole, looking like a chapel on a mountain top. The whole edifice is surrounded by the crowning and far-seen golden cross. Four

smaller cupolas resembling the greater in every particular, stand around like children round a mother, and complete the harmony visible in every part. The walls of the church are to be covered with marble, and no doubt Isaac's Church will be the most remarkable building in St. Petersburg; and supersede the Kasan church of the Virgin. The balustrade doors and doorways of the ikonostases are generally of wood, carved and gilded, but in this church all its beams and posts are of fine silver. The silver beams are all highly polished and reflect with dazzling brilliancy the light of the thousand tapers that burn before them. It was the Cossacks laden with no inconsiderable booty from the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, who made an offering of this mass of silver to the Holy Mother of Kasan for the object to which it is now appropriated. They seem to have a peculiar veneration for this Madonna, who is half their countrywoman, for John Vassielwitch brought her from Kasan to Moscow, whence Peter the Great transported her to St. Petersburg. Her picture, set with pearls and precious stones, hangs in the church. It was before this picture that Kutusoff prayed before he advanced to meet the enemy in 1812, for which reason she is considered to be closely connected with that campaign."

This conveys a strong impression of the *religiousness* of the Russian character; the whole tendency of this work, written, be it observed, by a *German*, to produce this impression. It is impossible to peruse it without perceiving that the Russians are deeply religious, although, of course, as must always be the case in a state of schism—this religiousness is somewhat superstitious. The following passage gives us a striking view of this trait in the national character.

"Under the gateways are suspended large lamps and gaudy pictures of saints, and these present themselves anew at every corner as you proceed through the lanes of the market. Here and there you come to an open space in which a little chapel has been erected, and so gaily fitted up you would think a Chinese pagoda had served for a model. All this, however, is insufficient to satisfy the piety of the Russians, who often build a wooden bridge between two opposite booths for the convenience of suspending a few additional lamps and saints. Here also in true Russian spirit like has paired with like. In one corner, for instance, all the dealers in sacred images have congregated. The Russians, who believe themselves abandoned by God and all good angels as soon as they are without His visible and tangible presence, or rather who think every place the devil's own ground until the priest has driven him out of it, and who, therefore, decorate their bodies, their rooms, their doors, and their gates as well as their churches, with sacred images, require of course, a very large and constant supply of the

article, of which, in fact, the consumption is enormous. The little brass crosses, the virgins, the St. John's, the St. George's, and other amulets, may be seen piled up in boxes like gingerbread nuts at a fair.

"On the walls of the booths are hung up pictures of all sorts and sizes, radiant with much gold and silver. Some are only a few inches in length and breadth. Of these a nobleman's footman will buy a few score at a time, as necessary to the fitting up of a new house, for in every room a few of these holy little articles must be nailed up against the wall. For village churches, for private chapels, and for devout merchants of the old faith, there are pictures of several ells square, before which a whole household may prostrate themselves at their ease. Some are set in mahogany frames of modern fashion, others are still adorned in the good old style with pillars, doors, and temples of silver wire; some are new from the pencils of students of the newly-established St. Petersburg Academy of Arts, but the greater part are old, and present figures often nearly obliterated by the dust and smoke of centuries. To these it is particularly, when they can be warranted to have adorned a church, that the lower orders in Russia attach the greatest value."

We are persuaded that, in this country, ignorance, the most dense and gross, exists as to the real character of the Russian people: and for this reason we will add another extract or two from this most interesting and perfectly impartial work recently issued in a cheap form, and doubtless producing, at this period, an immense influence in diffusing more truthful ideas on the subject:—

"There are people who believe that the lower classes in Russia are a separate and oppressed caste, without a will of their own, and without influence over their superiors; and that the civilized class floats over the mass like oil over water, neither mingling nor sympathizing with the other. Now this is the very reverse of the truth. There is, perhaps, no country in the world where all classes are so intimately connected with each other as in this vast empire, or so little divided into castes, and the same peculiarities which we notice in the bearded Muskite manifest themselves with only trifling modifications among the loftiest pinnacles of that Babylonian building, the social edifice of Russia. On the hay-market of St. Petersburg we may examine the raw material out of which all Russian classes have been manufactured for centuries; and a passing glance is enough to convince us that these bearded rusty fellows are of the same race as the polished *élégants* whom we meet with in the saloons. To some extent there exists in every country a certain affinity and family likeness between the highest and the lowest classes; but nowhere is this more the case than in Russia,

because, contrary to the prevailing belief, in no country are the extremes of society brought into more frequent contact, and in few are the transitions from one class to another more frequent or more sudden. The peasant becomes a priest upon the same day perhaps that an imperial mandate degrades the noble to a peasant, or to a Siberian colonist.

"Degradation to the ranks is a punishment frequently inflicted on Russian officers. Hereditary rank is disregarded while public services often lead rapidly to the highest dignities. The spirit of speculation that pervades the whole nation is constantly making rich men poor, and poor men rich.

"It requires but little polishing to convert the raw material of the Muskite into a shrewd trader, and expend but a little more pains upon his training, and he will chatter away in English, French, and German. He takes the polish easily, learns without much trouble to dance and dangle, and when you look at him closely, you find him a very Proteus, who glides at will into almost every form he chooses to assume. On the hay-market we behold the same mob, that in the middle ages, at the sound of the Vetsha bell, poured into the forum of the mighty republic of Novogorod, the same mob that placed Boris Godunoff on the throne, tore from it the false Demetrius, and exalted the house of Romanoff, which rose to its present astonishing power through the mighty fermentation and development of the tshornoi harod. The common man of St. Petersburg has precisely the same characteristics as the common man of Moscow or Odessa, or as the labourers on the confines of China. All cling with the same fidelity to the customs of their ancestors, and all remain the same in manners, education, and tastes. Their food is the same throughout the whole of the vast empire, and centuries will pass away before any sensible change will occur. This circumstance gives to the Russian people a unity of character which we should vainly look for in other countries where the manners and habits of one province often present a striking contrast to those of another."

One great feature in the Russian character is a devoted loyalty, which, by reason of the union of the ecclesiastical with the imperial power, partakes more of the nature of piety in the national mind than in any other country. The emperor is the head of the Church to which the Russians are so intensely attached, and hence all their enthusiasm—spiritual and political—is concentrated in the person of their Czar. Here again we will have recourse to our author for a striking illustration:—

"Having passed the wax lights, we arrive at the spacious hay-market, with its stately church. This place is remarkable as the only spot in which a barricade was ever erected in St.

Petersburg in consequence of a popular insurrection. This was in 1832, when the cholera raged here, and when the mobility of the capital, who make the hay-market their daily lounge, were seized with the notion that prevailed in so many other great cities of Europe, that not God, but the doctors, had brought the pestilence among them. The physicians were supposed to be poisoning the people, and these, excited by their own absurd suspicions, broke out one morning into open insurrection. The frantic mob of grey beards ran wildly about the neighbouring streets, seized upon the cholera carts, made the patients get out, set the horses loose, and after breaking the vehicles, threw the fragments into the Neva, and then fortified the market-place by erecting barricades of the hay waggons at the several entrances. The insurgents passed the night behind their entrenchments, resolved on the following morning to deal with the doctors as they had done with the carts. Early in the morning accordingly, the great cholera hospital was attacked, and taken by storm. The physicians, mostly Germans, were thrown from the windows, and torn to pieces by the mob. And the patients were consigned to their homes that they might be freed from the clutches of their supposed tormentors. Shortly afterwards the emperor arrived from Zarskoye Ido, and immediately repaired to the market in an open carriage, unattended by any military escort. The barricades disappeared at his approach. His carriage drew up at the entrance of the church, where he prayed and crossed himself and then addressed the multitude a few words, which were duly chronicled at the time in most of the newspapers of Europe. He bade the people kneel down and pray to God to forgive them their sins; and all that lately so tumultuous multitude knelt down at the command of their sovereign, and unresisting allowed the police to come among them and quietly convey the ringleaders of the mob to prison."

We doubt if such an incident would ever be witnessed in any other country.

"Nothing can exceed the love of the Russians for their Church," says the author of the '*Crescent and the Cross*;' "they would die to protect or avenge her, yet still assert their own independence, and admit of no temporal (*query foreign*) control or interference. Since the conversion of Vladimir the Great in 993, they have never wavered in their faith, and history mentions several instances where a slight suspicion of unorthodoxy attached to a sovereign produced serious disaffection and rebellion. The false Demetrius, after having made himself master of the throne, was murdered, in consequence of a report that he had turned Catholic during his exile in Poland, and there is not the slightest doubt but that the most beloved sovereign that ever sat on the



Russian throne would have run most serious risks, if, in his character of protector and head of the Church, he had ventured to induct into a see a bishop opposed by the clergy, and pronounced unorthodox by her Church. Yet we know that not only the sovereigns of England arrogate to themselves this right, but also that they have no hesitation in using it, and that without endangering the supremacy or affecting their popularity, a very glaring case having occurred within the last few years. Strong antagonism to the Roman Catholics is one of the striking characteristics of the Greek Church, and it is not to be expected that a fanatic Church and semi-barbarous nation should remain quiescent under what, in their fiery zeal and religious views, they consider an actual injury and a certain prelude to further encroachment from an antagonistic Church. The war will be a religious war, and, of course, much influenced by the fanaticism of the Russian nation, and the religious feelings of the emperor, who is known to be enthusiastically devoted to his own faith, eminently hostile to the Roman Catholics."

Such being the character of the Russian nation and their present sovereign, it might be predicated that their rulers would feel it no matter of difficulty to arouse their enthusiasm in respect to the Holy Places. Hitherto Russia had, as the protector of the Greek schism, found no powerful opponent; for, from the time when she assumed a place among the powers of Europe—scarcely two centuries ago—England had been Protestant, and cared, of course, nothing for holy places—Austria had been gradually un-Catholicised, and, engaged in constant contests by Protestant aggressions, politically weakened—and France had been passing from one depth to another of irreligion, landing her in utter rationalism. Russia all the while—isolated from these unhappy influences—retaining her religiousness and her feelings of reverence, deep-rooted in the hearts of her people. And for a century after the treaty of Karnardji, no controversy about Holy Places arose with Russia, simply because no power cared more about them than she did, and her influence appears to have predominated in Palestine, if not at Constantinople.

Indeed, during that period there was no power to oppose these pretensions. Amidst the wreck of religion and the tumult of war which pervaded Europe, the Greeks had few to rival their devotion, or resist their claims. At that

unhappy era, France, after the dark and bloody regime of revolution and irreligion was subdued under the stern yoke of the empire, her Church lay prostrate, and her religion dormant. The Catholic Church had no longer in Palestine the protection of the French name, which the invasions of Egypt had rendered hateful to the Porte. It was at that time the foundations were laid, deep and strong, for Russian influence in behalf of the Greek schism; and the seeds were sown of those disputes, which, in our own day, have been ripening into war. The Russians, along with the Greeks, and other kindred schismatical communions, have, for the last century, been in the habit of visiting the Holy Land in vast numbers. The Greek synod of Constantinople have placed themselves under the protection of the emperor of Russia, who, under colour of their claims for religious privilege, has doubtless well known how to press his political pretensions, and pursue his hereditary plans of progress towards the East. We care not to discuss how far the emperor may be sincere in his contentions about the Holy Places. It is rather of the Russian nation than the Russian sovereign we speak. *Their* sincerity is unquestionable, notwithstanding its inevitable taint of superstition; when Paris proclaimed the goddess of Reason, pilgrims were going from St. Petersburg; and while the French were subduing Rome, the Russians were looking earnestly to Jerusalem. *Their* Rome, as we have said, was Constantinople: so it seemed to their schismatic mind. Thither their eyes have ever been turned; and every pilgrimage to Jerusalem strengthened the ideas, and rooted the feeling which rendered the last the goal of national ambition, and the object of national devotion. It is of the Russians that we speak, let us again remark, rather than of the *rulers*. The latter have made subservient to their own policy the religious feelings of the people. Reverence for the Holy Places—longing for the East—is unquestionably deep-rooted in the Russian mind. The sovereigns of Russia have long worked upon this element in its character. Such is the character of the nation which has raised the great controversy about the Holy Places.

The controversy about the Holy Places is ancient, as already observed. It arose with Peter the Hermit. As the Greek schism had already commenced, it may have arisen even earlier between the schismatics and the Catholics; and though the Crusades apparently were contests

between Christians and Mahomedans, there are some grounds for the supposition that the venomous influence of schism entered into it. Certain it is that the Crusaders were coldly received at Constantinople; and that, later in their history, we find them compelled to turn their arms against the Greeks, as well as the Turks. Nothing is more probable than that those jealousies of the Western Church, which always existed in the Eastern, and ultimately led to the fatal separation, led, even at that early age, to controversies about the Holy Places between the Greeks and the Latins, and that the indignities with which the European pilgrims were treated by the Mahomedan occupants of Palestine, may have been stimulated by the schismatics, who, be it observed, were there at *home*, and were in the position of *subjects* of the Mahomedan. That union of the spiritual with the temporal, which characterizes schism, may have afterwards raised a certain sort of secret sympathy between the Greeks and the Turks; the degradation of the conquered most likely led to a certain degree of deterioration to the level of the conquerors, and a common aversion to Catholicism certainly can be detected in schism and Mahomedanism; that of the schismatics being certainly more bitter than that of the Infidels.

We need scarcely say that the earliest Christian occupants of the Holy Land were Catholics—children of the Holy See. When schism separated the Greeks, they continued there, in actual possession, subjects of the power which owned the Holy Land. That gave them a position of preference and advantage which, from the most ancient traces we can discover of the state of things there, they availed themselves of to the utmost. The Crusades must have left in the minds of the Mahomedans bitter feelings of revenge towards Catholics; and the schismatics very likely reigned predominant in the Holy Land until treaties of amity arose between Turkey and Catholic powers. This was not until after the Reformation; and we have already stated that the first treaty of a Catholic power with the Infidel was that of France with Solyman the Great, the admirer of Luther, though not of Lutheranism. In that treaty, in 1519, there was a clause, securing to the Latins the possession of all those sanctuaries in the Holy City which had been in their hands, *ab antiquo*, but without specifying them by name. This indicated that, from ancient time, at all events beyond any memory, the Latins

had possession of *some* sanctuaries. In 1670 Louis XIV. sent an embassy on the subject. The treaty of 1740 contained the same clause, there being still no *specification* of the shrines to which the Latins were entitled; neither was it specified whether they were entitled to *exclusive* possession of any. The consequence was repeated quarrels with the schismatics, which caused the Mussulmen great annoyance, and caused innumerable suits and appeals to Constantinople. Firmans (we are informed in one of the little works above alluded to) were in this manner obtained, in favour sometimes of one communion, and sometimes of the other, but more frequently in favour of the Greeks, who were able, as subjects of the Porte, to plead their cause more advantageously than their foreign rivals. In fact, the Greeks had the same advantage over the Catholics in Turkey as the Protestants have in Great Britain. They both acknowledge the "Royal Supremacy," and submit to the appointment, or approval of their Primate by the sovereign. The Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, who has jurisdiction in Jerusalem, is, as we already have observed, installed by the Sultan; a degradation to which none but schismatics would descend; but which is not greater in Turkey than in Russia, where the Emperor has far greater control over religion than the Sultan has, even as regards those of his subjects, who are disciples of Mahomet. And there was another advantage which the schismatics have all along had in this long-standing controversy of the Holy Places; that the Catholic powers of Europe were constantly at war with the Porte. From the time of the Reformation, however, as we have seen, France was, from political reasons, usually at amity with Turkey, though her insincerity (how could such an alliance be sincere!) was such, that a Grand Vizier once sarcastically answered a French ambassador, who boasted that France was an "old friend" of the Porte, "ah! but an old friend whom we constantly find among our *enemies*." However, so far as it went, French influence was in favour of the Catholic interests in Palestine, and the principal support it had to depend upon.

The French monarchs, says the clever writer we have already referred to, have been for a couple of centuries the medium of communication between the Roman Catholic Church and the Porte, as the missions were under the protection of the kings of France. Père Portier, in 1701,

states that the Catholic missions of Constantinople and Smyrna, consisted each of one hundred thousand souls, and Père Tonthon, in an official letter to Comte Pontchastraw, the minister of Lewis XIV., dated in 1714, estimates the Roman Catholic inhabitants in Constantinople at twelve thousand, in Scio seven thousand, in Naxos one thousand, and in the island of Sautorne two thousand, where he says he formed a convent of nuns of the order of St. Dominic, which had already existed two hundred years ;" which could carry back its foundation to about the time of the treaty of Francis I. with the Porte. "In 1716, we find the Père Braconne, a French missionary in Thessalonica, appealing to the French consul to protect him against mischievous calumnies propagated against the Catholics. In 1723, the Père Fromage, writing to the general of the Jesuits, calls the King of France protector of the Catholic faith in the empire of the infidels, and says he must be appealed to instantly to get a decree reversed which the Sultan had just promulgated, forbidding the Catholics to proselytize among the Oriental Churches, and ordering all Greeks, Armenians, &c. &c., who had adopted the faith of the Papists, to return immediately to their own." We beg particular attention to this. It is clear that up to this time France had, more or less, exercised something of the functions of an active protector of the Catholic faith ; actually interfering in the internal affairs of Turkey even so far as to press for the reversal of a decree, issued by the Sultan, with respect to the religious concerns of his Christian subjects. How the policy of France had changed—how her zeal for the faith had cooled, we can clearly see by comparing with these few plain facts, the following language used by the Comte de St. Preist, ambassador of King Louis XVI., at Constantinople from 1768 to 1785, the fatal period in which the seeds sown under the long and corrupt reign of Louis XIV., were working in the country, and produced the expulsion of the Jesuits, about to be avenged in the terrible retribution of the revolution. "The zeal of our kings has been rewarded by the title of protector of the Catholic religion in the Levant ; but *this is illusive*. Never have the Sultans even had an idea that the French monarchs believed themselves authorized to interfere in the religion of the subjects of the Porte. There is no prince who would permit another to meddle with the religion of his subjects, (i. e. their religious

rights,) and the Turks are as susceptible as others on this head." Thus, in that tepid and corrupt age it had been discovered that the French protectorship of the Catholic faith in the East was illusory, and that the French monarchs never imagined themselves authorized to interfere in the religious rights of the subjects of the Porte. That the protectorate was not always illusive; and that the French Monarch did so interfere, we have clearly shown. The change of policy here disclosed is melancholy. We need only add, that during this sad period Russian influence was energetically exerted on behalf of the Greek schism. Her protectorate was not "illusory." In Turkey, we find, at the accession of every Sultan, it is customary to renew all firmans issued by his predecessors respecting individual or corporate privileges. The Greeks always happen, therefore, to be the recipients of the first firman in the subject of the holy places granted by the reigning Sultan; and the last of such firmans, which has been so granted, is of course a powerful argument in their favour. This is another great advantage they always had in the controversy upon the holy places. With all these advantages they carefully availed themselves of any occasion that usually arose, for the purpose of pressing their claims to predominance. Thus, seventy years ago, after a conflagration which destroyed the cupola of the Holy Sepulchre, they contrived to repair it, for the purpose of creating a precedent, upon which they might, at a future time, ground a claim to an exclusive right to repair it, and thereupon an exclusive right to possess and occupy it. About this time, however, the Republic interfered on behalf of Latin interests in the Holy Land. It could only have been from political motives that the Republicans who proscribed priests in France, interposed in support of the Catholic cleric in Palestine. But so it was. And down to the present day, these interpositions of France have been exercised; all the more so, because ever since 1774, Russia has been endeavouring to assert a protectorate over the Greek Church, and to press forward its claims to predominance in the East. Since the last war between Turkey and Russia, this contest between the two communions, and the two empires which are their champions, has become more serious.

Some years ago, repairs being required in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Latins and Greeks contended for



the right to perform them. The latter appealed to the precedent they had contrived to create after the conflagration, and to repeated firmans, in favour of their claim. The Latins strenuously resisted it, and asserted their right to execute the repairs. The controversy was rendered more bitter by the disappearance (as was supposed, by the agency of the Greeks) of the Latin Star over the Shrine in the Church of the Holy Nativity. In that church there are two spots venerated by Christians of both communions; the one where our Lord is said to have been born, the other, where the manger was found which formed His cradle. The former is in the custody of the Greeks, the latter in that of the Latins. A silver star, bearing a Latin inscription, had been suspended from time immemorial above the spot of the Nativity; and the presence of this star (a French writer remarks) on a site which they claimed as their own, almost consoled the Latins for the loss of the shrine itself. Great was their indignation when the symbol suddenly vanished. It is more than possible that the craft of the Greeks, probably at the instigation of Russia, had contrived its removal. Certain it is, that this comparatively trivial circumstance has led, indirectly, to the embroiling of Europe in war, and has endangered the peace of the world. It led, indirectly, to a controversy which has lasted to the present moment, and has resulted ultimately, as we have seen, in a terrible war. The Catholics appealed to France, as their traditionary protector, and complained, not only of the abstraction of their symbol, as an usurpation of exclusive right to the shrine, but of the claim of the Greeks to repair the cupola, as having the same object. France required of the Porte reparation for the abstraction of the star, the restoration to the Catholics of the right to repair the Holy Sepulchre, and the restitution to them of all the sanctuaries assigned to them under the old treaties. The Porte, upon the question of the repairs, proposed, as a compromise, to repair the church herself! a proposition which was at first declined by both parties, and the dispute continued even under Louis Philippe and his Protestant minister Guizot. It was not until after the revolution of 1848 that France acceded to the compromise suggested; and so *that* question was for a time disposed of. But the others were far more difficult, and the disputes continued as obstinately as before, to the infinite

disgust of the infidels. In 1850 Louis Napoleon sent an Envoy Extraordinary to the Porte; who first required a categorical answer to this question,—whether she recognized the treaty of 1740, securing to the Catholics all the sacred places they had possessed from ancient time. To this, of course, the answer was in the affirmative; and then France demanded a “mixed commission,” to enquire what these places were. This demand was acceded to by the Porte, and the Commission was appointed. The chief controversy was as to the exclusive possession of twelve sacred places by the Catholics, of which the four principal were the Great Cupola of the Holy Sepulchre, the Tomb of the Blessed Virgin, the Great Church of Bethlehem, and part of the Garden of Gethsemane. A tolerably good “title,” as the lawyers would say, was made out in behalf of the Catholics. For fifty years before the treaty of 1740, that is, almost up to the time of the embassy sent by Louis XIV., firmans were found vesting those places in the Latins, and the treaty of 1740 confirmed to them all that they had before possessed. The Greeks, on the other hand, produced firmans, issued before and after that treaty, granting the same places to them. The French negociators urged that they were of no avail against the terms of the treaty. The Turkish authorities thought that this was so, and the Commission determined in favour of the Catholics. Russia then interfered on the part of the schismatics; and her interference was the more formidable, because by this time the Greek subjects of the Porte were rather inflamed by the excitement which had now been kept up in the East for a series of years on the subject. The Turks temporized: a new commission was appointed, under Russian influence, which reported, that the Great Cupola of the Holy Sepulchre should be possessed in common, but the smaller cupola continue in the possession of the Greeks; that the Latins should be admitted to the tomb of the Blessed Virgin, and the Greeks to the sanctuary of the Ascension; that the Latins should have a key to the church of Bethlehem,—the architecture of which shows it to have been built by them, but which had been in the possession of the Greeks for centuries,—and that the Latin star should be replaced over the shrine of the Nativity. The Turkish Ministers, in conveying the arrangement to the French ambassador, excused it on the ground of the apprehensions entertained as

to Russia and the Greek subjects of the Porte. France accepted the arrangement under protest. The Czar demanded a new firman, declaring it as a confirmation of the *status ante quo*. The French took umbrage at this, as a slight upon their protest, and as calculated to prejudice the rights previously obtained by the Catholics. At this crisis M. de Lavalette was sent to Constantinople.

M. de Lavallette demanded the recal of the firman. On the other hand the Russian envoy reopened the question of the Latin key to the Bethlehem Church. Contending that they ought only to have a key to a side gate; and that the main entrance should continue in the possession of the Greeks. This was obviously not the right interpretation of the firman, because the Latins had previously possessed a key to a side gate, obtaining on certain occasions admission to the grand entrance by permission of the Greeks; and it could scarcely have been the meaning of the Porte simply to secure to them what they already enjoyed, and indeed the report of the Commission expressly mentioned the main entrance as the one intended. The Russian ambassador, however, maintained that the *status ante quo*, should be adhered to, forgetting that this was in opposition to treaties with France, and was a state of things which had grown up through neglect of the rights of the Catholics, and let us add, by reason of the supineness of their pretended protectors. For if France had done her duty during the last century, the Greeks could never have become possessed of so many places clearly belonging of right to the Latins, and guaranteed to them by treaty, so long ago as the time of Louis XIV.

The Porte adhered to the firman, declining to alter it either in favour of France or Russia. The French, after great negotiation, only assented to it on the understanding that it should be merely registered and not published. To this the Greeks would not consent—and the Russian envoy required that it should be solemnly proclaimed—and it accordingly was publicly read in the Greek convent at Jerusalem, in the presence of the authorities. The French Ambassador remonstrated, but this was of course useless. All through the negotiations, it is impossible not to see that he acted a very poor part, and clearly succumbed to the superior firmness of Russia. The reason is that Russia was in *earnest*, France was *not*.

Russia was energetic and decisive, France feeble and doubtful in her course. This difference was manifested throughout the ulterior and more serious proceedings which ensued. So vehement were the Greeks, that they actually for the third time reopened the question of the key of the main entrance to the Bethlehem Church, and violently opposed its delivery to the Latins. It was, however, delivered to the Catholic Priests, and at the same time a lost star over the shrine of the Nativity was replaced by one of *Mahomedan manufacture*! Anything more humiliating could scarcely be imagined. A miserable compromise between schism and Islamism. But something meaner and more miserable seemed to be in contemplation for the Christians of the nineteenth century. The Greeks yet obstinately resisted the concession of the key of the great gate to the Catholics, claiming not merely common but an exclusive use of it: and the Turkish authorities proposed to appoint a porter of their own to keep the gate and do justice to both communions. A Mahomedan keeper of the Church of the Nativity! What a *custos* for a Christian shrine! Christendom was for the present saved from this dishonour. Prince Menschikoff arrived at Constantinople, charged with a new mission from Russia, which soon altered the aspect of affairs, and changed the controversy from one of mere paltry peddling details to one of *principle*. For this, at all events, we are grateful to this extraordinary embassy from the Emperor. Who could be otherwise than sick of the miserable system of haggling and quibbling with which the question had hitherto been treated, amidst all the artifices of diplomacy! The contest was really between Catholicism and Schism for spiritual supremacy in the East. It took the form of a controversy about the Holy Places, but, in truth, as the Mahomedans cared not a straw about them, and were ready to surrender them to Christian custody, if they only knew where to find some community entitled to receive them as the representative of Christendom, the struggle was in substance between the Greek Schism, and the Catholic Church, which of them should be accepted as this community, and thus possess religious supremacy in the land where first was planted the Christian Church. The most mighty controversy may be carried on upon a very small matter: where a *principle* is involved nothing is small. The great question

could be determined as well by the restoration of a star or the concession of a key: and this both the parties to it well knew, and showed they knew, by the obstinacy with which they contested these apparently minor matters. But having failed to secure a triumph on these points, Schism, represented by Russia, removed the controversy to higher ground and larger question, by the claim of the Czar to the Protectorate of the Greek Church. On the 28th March, 1853, the Russian Envoy proposed a convention, by which the Russian Protectorate was to be recognized not only over the Christian population of the Danubian Principalities and the Greek community at the Holy City, but over all the Greek Christians in the Turkish empire. As already observed, this was only an assertion of the principle already conceded in the recognition of the Russian Protectorate over the Christian population of Moldavia and Wallachia, and which it was the object of Russia to have conceded in the recognition of Greek supremacy under her protection in Palestine. It happened that the population of the two Principalities was almost *exclusively* Christian, but all over the Turkish empire the population is *chiefly* Christian: and therefore it was not so much that Russia asserted a new principle as that she claimed to *carry out* a principle already conceded, and which was also sanctioned by the supremacy which hitherto through the criminal and shameful supineness of the Catholic Powers, the Greek schism, under its Russian Protectorate, had acquired in the East. There is every reason to question whether Russia would even now have met with any opposition upon *religious* reasons. But it happens that both France and England have political jealousies of Russian influence in the East, and therefore exerted all their diplomatic agencies to induce the Porte to resist the claims of the Czar: and they succeeded in so doing. No one will for a moment imagine that England has any interest in the religious aspect of the question: indeed, her government would disclaim any idea that she had: although, doubtless, there are many pious and zealous Protestants, great readers of prophecy, who have an impression that there is something sacred in the Holy Land, and that it is destined to be rescued from the profanations of the Infidel. It is palpable that as a nation England can only have interposed in the contest upon purely *political* grounds. And com-

paring the apathy of France, for the last two centuries, with her present interference, and looking at her mercantile and political interests in the Eastern question, it is impossible not to perceive that she also as a *nation*, has interposed upon these and no other grounds, though of course we need scarcely say that there are myriads in France, the land of reviving faith and restored religion, who look to the East with other feelings, and with whom it is a Catholic question of Catholic interests. Had her Government, however, interposed upon the principles of the old traditionary policy of Catholic France, from her zeal for the Church, she would hardly have hampered herself with the alliance of England, which has no sympathy with so sacred a cause, and would sacrifice it without scruple for the most sordid considerations: and she would then have escaped the inconvenience and the discredit of a feeble, hesitating, and a vacillating policy: contrasting very unfavourably in point of firmness and promptness with that of Russia. It is sad to see that the protector of schism should have been all decision, and the champions of Catholicism all hesitation.

After some negotiations, Prince Menschikoff, on the 5th May, presented his *ultimatum*, in substance to the same effect as above stated. The Porte declined to do more than to declare its intention to abide by existing engagements, and to extend to the Greeks any immunities conferred on other Christian communities. Prince Menschikoff answered by a note of the 18th May, in which these pledges were rejected, as not affording the guarantee the Emperor desired: in other words, the supremacy he aspired at. "The Sublime Porte," said the Prince, "in repelling the wishes of the Emperor in favour of the Greek Russian orthodox worship, has justified the serious apprehensions of the Imperial Government for the *security and maintenance* of the ancient rights of the Greek Church." The "security and maintenance of the ancient rights of the Greek Church," clearly meant its *supremacy*: that supremacy which by the supineness of the Catholic Powers it had acquired during the last two centuries, and of which it now was deprived. "The *identity of worship*, the *secular ties*, cemented by the reciprocal wants and interests of the two countries," were then urged by the Russian Envoy, as reasons for acceding to his demands: in other words, his argument was, that Greek Christians



ought not to be under the sway of a Moslem Sovereign. The Porte, on the 26th May, replied to the note by a circular addressed to the representatives of the Three powers. It again declared that it would maintain all the rights which had been declared to the Greek Christians.

"But to stipulate with a foreign government by a formal treaty, or a note or declaration of equal force about the rights and privileges of a numerous class of subjects in the Sublime Porte, even if these rights only relate to religious worship and Church affairs—would destroy the independence of this empire."

The framers of this note forget the precedent of the Danubian Principalities. Russia had advanced thus far without opposition. *Political* interests appeared not to be involved in her Protectorate over the Christians in Wallachia and Moldavia. Therefore, neither France nor England cared to interfere. She now sought to carry out the same principle: but as her spiritual supremacy necessarily involved temporal sovereignty by reason of the nature of her schismatic system—in that respect resembling Islamism and Protestantism—and as the establishment of such a supremacy on her part could make her influence predominant in the East, she was now resisted. It was not unnatural that she should be irritated by resistance, where she may have counted on compliance. And she certainly found an argument—her only one—in favour of her claims, when she grounded her demand for fresh *guarantees* on behalf of the Greeks, upon the contradictory firmans which had been given to Greeks and Catholics, and the fluctuating course which had been pursued by the Porte amidst the conflicting influences of diplomacy. There was, undoubtedly, a foundation in fact for this statement, as the reader will have remarked. Russia required a formal guarantee to her of the rights of the Greek schism, the result of which, of course would be to give her the right of enforcing them to make her the arbiter of any question as to their enforcement. The reason for this requisition was expressly stated to be, that contradictory firmans had been granted to the Latin and Greek communions, and this fact was expressly admitted by the French Government, which declared in one of its notes, that both Russia and France had reason to complain of the *tergiversation* of the Porte, which had "contracted on all sides contradictory obligations." It was not, therefore, so much the requisi-

tion of Russia in *itself* which excited the opposition of France and England. The real reason for it is to be found in the suspicions entertained of the ulterior object of Russia, and the cause of these suspicions is to be found, in the fact, that the Greek Christian population of the Turkish empire is so large a majority of the whole, and the union of the spiritual and temporal, characteristic of schism, and particularly so of the Greek Russian schism—would render a right of Protectorate over that portion of the population practically equivalent to the admission of a right of sovereignty, or would inevitably prepare the way for it; while the encroaching and arrogant spirit of the Greek schism, under the auspices of the Russian emperors for the last century, showed a tendency in it to intolerance and tyranny, which would be satisfied by nothing short of supremacy. The “ultimatissimum” of Russia was the requisition of a declaration on the part of the Porte, that the orthodox worship of the East, its clergy, its churches, and possessions, as also its religious establishments, shall enjoy in future the privileges conferred upon them “*ab antiquo*.” At first sight it may seem strange that this should have been peremptorily *rejected*—when it looks as if literally the same with the declarations already given by the Porte. But the real difference is to be found in this—that the previous declarations of the Porte were given to all the Great Powers—whereas Russia required a guarantee to herself, and accordingly this *ultimatissimum* imported an engagement which was to be entered into *with the Emperor*, as the “protector of the orthodox worship of the East.” The note of the French Government, in explaining the reasons upon which this requisition of Russia was rejected, states the case thus: “The treaty of Kainardji confers on Russia a right of protection, limited and defined, over a church ministered to by Russian priests, which it was sought to erect on the outskirts of Galatea. This assuredly does not mean that practically and in the natural course of events, the Court of St. Petersburg should feel itself called upon to interest itself for the Christians of the Greek rite, who form in Turkey the majority of the population. But if the Porte found itself bound to consider the sympathies of Russia for the Eastern Church, it has not up to this time subscribed to any engagements,” (except those as to the Danubian principalities, which are rested by the French

Government on the ground of conquest,) which takes away the *merit of its tolerance*, and imposes instead of *duties freely fulfilled with regard to its own subjects, obligations towards a foreign power*. Here is the whole question, and we cannot help observing that the French view of the question scarcely seems satisfactory; that Christians are to be left under the absolute sway of infidels, left merely to the "merit of voluntary tolerance," and without any effort on the part of Christian powers to secure them due protection, even in countries originally Christian and conquered by the Mahomedans. This was not the old Catholic view of the question, nor that which France took in the ages of faith. The French Government accordingly does not support it upon its traditions of the age of St. Louis, but refers to an age very different, that of Louis the Sixteenth. "Our own treaties with Turkey never gave us any right of protection over the Catholic subjects of the Sultan." "The Count de Saint Priest, ambassador of Louis XVI. at Constantinople, from 1768 to 1785, thus clearly defines the nature of our protectorship: 'The zeal of our kings has been rewarded by the title of Protector of the Catholic religion in the Levant: but *this is illusive*. Never have the Sultans had an idea that the French monarchs believed themselves authorized to interfere in the religion of the subjects of the Porte. There is no prince who would permit him to meddle with the religion of his subjects. The Turks are as susceptible as others on this head.'" Very characteristic language from the ambassador of a corrupt and effete court, which, during this very period, expelled the Jesuits from France, and, having reduced the Church to subserviency, was about to reap the reward of Gallicanism in the horrors of revolution. One can easily understand the sympathy with which a Minister who followed out the policy of Louis XIV. in Church and State would feel for any prince who resisted "the interposition of a *foreign power*," (the very phrase Protestants and Gallicans apply to the Holy See,) "with the *religion* of his subjects." The secret instinctive sympathy which exists between all forms of Protestantism, (including Gallicanism,) and Islamism was more and more amusingly exhibited. With what consistency could a Minister of the French Court press an opposite doctrine upon the Porte, it is indeed difficult to imagine. But there is a very important distinction between the two cases

which the courtly Count de Saint Priest overlooked. A Christian power interfering with Turkey to protect the religious rights of its Christian subjects, would not exactly interfere in the *religion* of the subjects of the Porte: merely to protect the rights of religious liberty is one thing, to interfere in the religion of a nation quite another: any "protection" on the part of a Christian power which did not secure to the Christian subjects of the Porte freedom from persecution or molestation, would indeed be "*illusive*." There we quite agree with the ambassador of Louis XVI. and this is our opinion about French intervention in Palestine ever since the age of Francis I., when the first treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was contracted between a Christian and an infidel power. French intervention has been simply *illusive*. It has gone on the principle of assuming that an infidel power has a right to conquer Christian people, and then act upon the maxim, "May we not do what we like with our own?" It is assumed that there is nothing monstrous and scandalous to Christendom in the fact, that Christians should be held under subjection to infidels, and hold the most sacred of their religious rights under their voluntary toleration; and that no Christian power could venture to interfere, save with the "bated breath and whispering humbleness" of diplomacy. It is this wretched policy which has produced the present state of things in the East, where the interests of the Catholic Church have declined generation after generation. Very different has been the course pursued by Russia; and the result we see in the practical supremacy of the Greek Church in Palestine prior to the recent negotiations. We must repeat the remark we have already made more than once, that it is sad to see that so much more zeal should have been shown in behalf of schism than in support of Catholicism. The principle upon which Russia has acted is, that a Mahomedan or Pagan Power is not to be permitted to enslave and oppress a Christian people, and that it is a Christian duty to protect them. And the result has shown that this is the right principle; for we have seen that the Greek Church had practically obtained predominance in the Turkish empire. The Turks for a century have had to submit to interference of a foreign power in regard to the religious rights of their *Greek* Christian subjects. We doubt not that they are, as the French Ambassador said, "as susceptible as other

people on this head;" nay, infinitely more so; for it is part of their religion to entertain an intense contempt for Christians, "the infidel dogs," and, when they "*live up*" to their religion, to strive to extirpate them by fire and sword, as they did in ages past, and would do now, if they durst attempt it; aye, and *have* done in living memory whenever they have had the opportunity;—witness the shocking atrocities of Scio and the massacre of the Christians at Constantinople, and the horrors perpetrated of later years in Syria. Doubtless the susceptibilities of Mahomedans were sufficiently exciteable against Christians; but it is precisely on that account that foreign protection is requisite to control the ferocious fanaticism of Islamism; and such protection has, in fact, been for a century past exercised by Russia in the Danubian Principalities and in Palestine over the Greek Christians. The arguments, therefore, of the French ambassador were not likely to make a deep impression on the Russian Emperor. "Our protection has been illusive," is the language of France. "Then ours shall *not* be illusive," is the reply of Russia; "it has not been illusive in the past; it shall be extended in the future." The only thing we see to regret in this is the sad fact, that as Russia is in schism, her zeal is on the wrong side. And again we repeat, that the position she has been enabled to assume in the East, and the predominance she has secured for her schism, is owing to the fact, that she has shown a *resolution* in its defence which France has failed to exhibit in behalf of Catholicism. To talk of the "merit of tolerance" on the part of the Turkish Government, which, in the interior of its empire is no Government at all, and leaves its Christian subjects to suffer the most horrible tortures that the ruffianly tyranny of a Pasha may lead him to inflict, from covetousness, or in the mere wantonness of cruelty,—is mockery and an insult to humanity. We cannot wonder that French diplomacy did not produce much impression upon Russia.

Its tenor was really nothing short of this: "Our policy has been illusory and unworthy; be content that yours shall be so too." It could scarcely be without some contempt that the Czar retorted, in effect, that ever since the treaty of Karnardji, the effort of the Russian emperors had been directed towards upholding the rights of their Church.

On the other hand, we have already pointed out that the concentration of all ecclesiastical power in the Czars, and

the complete union of the temporal and spiritual in their sovereignty, must necessarily give to all these efforts, on behalf of their Church, the aspect of attempts at conquests. Wherever the Russian Church comes, there must come the religious supremacy of the Russian emperor, which must carry with it virtual sovereignty. The Russian Church is thus in the same difficulty as the Anglican establishment. It cannot exist out of the limits of temporal sway ; for it cannot exist apart from the royal supremacy. And, curiously enough, this difficulty has recently been exemplified in the soil of Palestine, in the case of the Protestant "bishopric" of Jerusalem, which has displayed the anomalous spectacle of a Christian bishop, deprived of all power of pastorship, save over the few subjects of the sovereign from whom he derived jurisdiction. This difficulty it is which associates unseparably the zeal of Russian sovereigns for the extension of their Church, with designs for the aggrandizement of their sovereignty.

The real gist of the Russian claim was this, *exclusive* privileges under *her* guarantee and protection, for the Greek Church ; whereas the great powers contended that the Greeks ought only to enjoy protection and privileges in *common* with all other Christians. On this latter construction, of course, there could be no occasion for a separate and exclusive guarantee to *Russia*, and for that very same reason there could be no special gain to the cause of schism : which could scarcely satisfy Russia, who assumed to place her Church at the head of the great Greek schism, and had her sovereigns at the head of that Church.

The Turkish government thus summed up the controversy in a single sentence : "The Russian government wished that the spiritual privileges of the *Greek Church* and monks should be made the subject of a treaty between the *two Powers* (Russia and Turkey) ; and the government of the Sublime Porte refused to enter into any such engagement." The reason of the resistance of Turkey is stated as shortly thus : "It would have struck at its independence and sovereign rights, if, under colour of a treaty, it should concede to another power the right to put in execution in a regular manner the religious privileges granted to millions of its subjects." This was hardly consistent with the recognition of such a right in all the Great Powers. The independence of Turkey would scarcely be more compromised by having Five Powers interposing



than *one*. But perhaps a stranger reason still is disclosed indirectly in another sentence: "The claim of the court of Russia is grounded upon the religious privileges of the Greeks; but the chiefs and members of the Greek community have in no way intervened in the question." That is to say, the Porte would concede the Protectorate assumed by Russia over the Greek Church, if demanded by her Greek subjects of Turkey. This was a reason more inconsistent than the other. The truth is, *no* valid reason could be assigned for the resistance of Turkey under the auspices of Russia than this: the assumption of a species of sovereignty resulting from the spiritual supremacy claimed by the Czar over the Russian Church. In short, Russia claimed first to be the head of the Greek schism, next to be its Protector, and lastly, to procure for it peculiar privileges. In effect, this amounted to a claim of sovereignty.

Accordingly, in the Vienna Note, the principal points of variance from the Menschikoff *ultimatissimum*, were the following. 1. It referred simply to the representations of the emperor, omitting the words, recognizing him as the organ of the orthodox worship in the East. 2. It stipulated in favour of the Greek Christians only such advantages as were secured by express treaty, relating to the protection of Christian worship in the past, or should be granted to other Christians for the future. 3. It omitted the guarantee to Russia of the *status quo*, or the privileges enjoyed, in fact, *ab antiquo* by the Greeks, which were, in a great degree, as already explained, the result of mere usage and usurpation, originating in no treaty, but in the negligence of other Christian powers. In a manifesto issued by the Turkish government, explaining its objections to the Vienna Note, it objected to the following words: "The emperors of Russia have manifested an active solicitude for the maintenance of the privileges of the orthodox Greek Church in the Ottoman empire," because "it might be understood that the privileges of the Greek Church there had been only maintained by the active solicitude of the emperor of Russia," which, no doubt, was true enough; but the Ottoman government had now been led to perceive the impolicy of allowing it to be understood so. It thus disclosed the cause of its jealousy: "To fortify by new ties the religious community already existing between a great community of the subjects of the Sublime Porte and

a foreign power, to give to the government of Russia a motive to pretend to exercise a right of *surveillance* and interference in such matters would be in some sort to admit a participation in sovereign rights."

The real nature and character of the controversy will be further illustrated by some of the observations of the Russian government in rejecting the modifications proposed by Turkey in the Vienna note. In respect to the suggested omission of the clause which spoke of the active solicitude of Russia, &c., it is observed, "This omission deprives the passage of all meaning; for no one doubts the active solicitude of the sovereigns of Russia for the faith which they profess. What was required to be recognised was, that from time immemorial an active solicitude had been shown by Russia for her co-religionists in Turkey, as well as for the maintenance of their religious immunities; and that the Ottoman empire is resolved to have regard to that solicitude." In reply the Turkish government spoke with some scorn. "Russia wishes to insert a clause concerning the active solicitude of the Emperors of Russia for the maintenance in Turkey of religious principles granted to the Greek rite before Russia so much as existed as an empire." This sneer, doubtless, did not tend to conciliate the Czar. But by this time the time for conciliation was past. Her troops had crossed the Pruth—the Rubicon of the Russian Cæsar.

There is a remarkable passage in the last manifesto of the Russian government which perhaps may more than any other exhibit the religious gist of the controversy.

"The Ottoman Government would, by one of the alterations, only bind itself to allow the orthodox (Greek) Church to participate in such advantages as it accords to those other Christian communities which are subject to the Porte. But in case these communities, no matter whether Catholic or other, should be composed of foreign clergy or laity, and this is the case with nearly all the convents hospitals, seminaries, and bishoprics, of the Latin form of worship in Turkey, and as soon as it shall please the Porte to grant to these establishments fresh religious advantages and privileges—the orthodox communities, according to the alteration, would not be entitled to lay claim to similar advantages, nor would Russia have the right to intercede for them. Let us put a probable case. That the last inducted (Catholic) Patriarch of Jerusalem should receive certain privileges from the Porte which the Greek Patriarch does not enjoy. Every reclamation on the part of the

latter would be rejected, because he is a subject of the Porte. The same objection would be made by the Ottoman ministry, with reference to the Catholic establishments in Palestine, whenever subsequently, to the detriment of the native community, any new privilege should be conferred on them, which is not mentioned in the last firman."

It is impossible not to see that on the part of Russia—that is, the Russian nation—this is a religious controversy. It matters not whether the Russian government solely regard the religious view; they best know on what grounds to rest it in order to make it popular with their people; and they rest it purely on religious grounds, and their appeal is responded to with frantic enthusiasm. Nor is there any reason to question the Emperor's religious enthusiasm. The writer of the pamphlet, "*The Cross versus the Crescent*," very truly says, "Europe has resolutely taken it for granted that the Emperor of Russia is actuated by ambitious and not religious motives; but he is known to be most enthusiastically devoted to his own faith, and eminently hostile to the Roman Catholics." It is to be observed at the same time, that, as we have already remarked with Russia, as with any schismatic state, the spiritual is so mixed with the temporal, by reason of the union of both in the person of their emperor, that the spread of his supremacy carries with it the spread of his sovereignty, and thus his religion is necessarily mixed up with ambition. However, the writer most truly adds, that "strong antagonism to the Roman Catholics is one of the striking characteristics of the Greek Church:" we may add—of all schism. And, unquestionably, on the part of Russia, the war, although a religious war, is not so much a war against Islamism as against Catholicism. There was no aggression on the part of the Greek schism, or Islamism: no contest between them: the struggle was between Schism and Catholicism: between the Greek and Latin communions. It was a renewal, in fact, of the ancient controversy for supremacy between the Eastern and the Western Patriarchates which made Constantinople the seat of schism ten centuries ago.

On the part of the Turks, (and here again we mean the nation, not the government,) it is unquestionably a religious war: the ferocious fanaticism of the people has in truth hurried on the rulers into war against their will, and

against the wishes of the Western powers. And it is to be remembered that a religious war in the minds of the infidels means *a war against Christianity*. It is in vain to disguise it. It is a revival of old Mussulman fanaticism. What care the Turks for Greeks or Latins: schismatics, or Catholics? It is the name of *Christian* that they execrate and scorn, and they sneer at all those sects and schisms which have given them so much annoyance. As one of their ministers said a century ago, the Sublime Porte cannot trouble itself with religious differences between *infidels*, for they call Christians and Pagans, all alike, who do not adopt the Mahomedan dogma, "One God and Mahomet his prophet." They are taught to fight against Christianity, and even to extirpate it from the face of the earth. It is true that their animosity is chiefly directed against Russia, and at present it may appear exclusively so, but that is merely because Russia is the only Christian power which has menaced the Porte with the sword in professed defence of Christian rights, and moreover Russia represents or assumes to represent the larger proportion of the Christian subjects of the Porte, added to which, the chief of the other Christian communities are represented by powers friendly or neutral. Notwithstanding this, it is perfectly plain that as a Turk cares nothing for religious distinctions between "infidels," "dogs of Christians," and is taught by his Koran to regard it as his duty to offer them all the unrelenting alternative of destruction or circumcision—a religious war, in his understanding, must really mean a war against Christianity. It may be directed only against a particular class of Christians who happen to have become obnoxious, but the real *animus* and motive, must be the deadly hatred to Christian religion, which is the life and soul of Mahomedanism. It is notorious that the war party triumphed at Constantinople. It is perfectly idle to talk of the Turks as having taken up arms in vindication of political independence, and infinitely more so to hear them spoken of as opposed to intolerance. If they tolerate Christians it is from contempt or from compulsion. There are those still living in Constantinople who took part in the savage massacre of Christians thirty years ago, and who would like to repeat a similar outrage. The language of the Ottoman government during the recent negotiations has manifested apprehensions of an outbreak of this nature more than once.

Dr. Newman entertains this opinion of Mahomedanism, that it is essentially unchangeable, and must inspire its votaries with intense hate and scorn of Christianity; and cites our able contemporary the *Edinburgh Review* to the same effect.

The fact is, so far as the contest is one for the maintenance of the Mahomedan power in Europe, it is impossible that Christian men can wish success to that power. Islamism is a system in which the religious and the political are mixed up, and it is impossible to separate them. And the religion is one which blights wherever it prevails.

Balmez considers the aspect of the East a reproach to Christendom, and a miserable result of Protestantism. "When, breaking the unity of European civilization, it introduced discord into its bosom, it weakened the physical and moral action which it exercised on the rest of the world. Europe was apparently destined to civilize the world. How does it happen that she has not realized her destiny? How does it happen *that barbarism is still found at her gates, and that Islamism still maintains itself in one of the finest climates and countries of Europe?*" It is plain that this profound and truly Catholic writer considers Turkey, in Europe, a scandal to Christendom. And as to Turkey in Asia: "Asia, with her want of moving power—weakness, despotism, degradation, and with all the disgraces of humanity, lies under our eyes, and scarcely have we done anything which gives reason to hope that she will emerge from her degraded state. Asia Minor, the coasts of Palestine, Egypt and the whole of Africa, are before us, in a deplorable condition, a degradation which excites pity, and forms a melancholy contrast with the great recollections of history." "How does it happen that Europe, overflowing with vigour and energy, has remained within her narrow limits?" "The entire cause is *her want of unity*; her external action has been without concert, and consequently without efficacy." What a commentary on our sketch of the history of the last three centuries, especially with reference to the fluctuating policy of Christian nations as to Turkey, their want of union, their mutual jealousies, their petty intrigues! France jealous of Austria; England of Russia; all playing into the hands of the common foe of Christendom, the oppressor of millions of Christians, the infidel Ottoman: Christian powers, Catholic, schismatic, and heretic,

rivalling each other in their eagerness to abandon the common cause,—to betray it for the most selfish and short-sighted policy of interest.

There never has been, there never can be, any doubt or difference in enlightened Christian minds, as to the diabolical character of Mahomedanism. The illustrious Görres truly speaks of it as affording a pretext and “instance for palliation, to all the violence of pride, and the arrogance of tyranny, as drawing to it the men of the sword of violence and of blood, and of rallying around the apostle of lust the sensual multitude.” And Schlegel points out that it “encourages and even commands irreconcilable hostility, eternal slaughter, to propagate through the world a belief in its blood-stained prophet of pride and lust. These characteristics are rooted in its very nature and essence, and time makes no alteration in it, nor can it affect the influences it exercises. The horrors perpetrated in the taking of Otranto, when the Catholic Archbishop was cruelly massacred with some hundreds of his flock, were not equal to those perpetrated in the storming of Scio, pictured so vividly in the eloquent language of Dr. Newman: nor were they greater than those committed thirty years ago, in the massacre of the Greek Patriarch, and hundreds of Christians in Constantinople. If this ferocious fanaticism has been in any degree checked and controlled during the last century, we cannot doubt when we remember the savage fury with which the Turks were, scarcely seventy years ago, pressing rapidly towards Vienna, to revive the terrors from which Sobieski had relieved Christendom, that it is to be ascribed to the counterbalancing power of Russia. And the debasing and degrading influence of Mussulman rule, produces results if less shocking, quite as ruinous, wherever it exists. There is no work of any traveller on the Turkish empire which does not exhibit traces of the atrocious character of Turkish rule. And we are persuaded that this has had a great deal to do with the perpetuation of the unhappy Greek schism. The degradation, moral, social, and political, to which the infidel sway subjects the Greeks, cannot but have tended to increase their ignorance and isolation, to which in a great degree the continuance of their schism is to be ascribed. Glancing the other day into a most charming and exquisitely written book, written by Father Faber while yet an Anglican, some ten or twelve



years ago, we came upon the following passage, which we gratefully quote, as expressing what we would convey far more powerfully and beautifully than we could ever hope to do. He is speaking of the existence and condition of the Greek Church even in the Morea.

“Let us look at the circumstances in which the Christians found themselves under the despotic exactions and tyrannous misrule of the misbelievers. They were subject to every sort of injustice which was likely to debase their characters; if their churches were burnt or decayed, they were not allowed to rebuild or repair them without permission from the authorities; a permission never to be obtained except at immense cost, and not unfrequently refused altogether. Independent of the vile indignities which met them at every turn in life, it was next to impossible for them to obtain justice in the Turkish court, if their opponent was an infidel. At certain times the Turkish police inspected the Christian children of a district from eight years old and upwards, and carried off all the best made and ablest bodied among them, compelling them to become Mahometans. Patriarchs and bishops were made and unmade, elevated, deposed, re-elevated, deposed, and strangled, either from a ferocious caprice, or a desire to extort money; in fact, there never has been a slavery so galling, so debasing, so systematically inhuman, so unmitigated by any alleviating circumstances, so unchequered by any tranquil times, as that which the Oriental Christians, especially in the Greek peninsula, have endured at the hands of the foul Mahometans: and to our shame be it said, since the days of the great-minded Popes, who strove to renew the Crusades, the protecting interference of the European Powers, has been rarely feebly and selfishly exerted in behalf of the suffering Christians.

“What has been done has, till lately, been chiefly by Russia, and however obviously it was her interest to make herself popular with the Christian subjects of the Porte, it is not to be believed that she has acted on no higher and more generous principle. This iron hand pressed for years and years upon this unhappy land, till the most wonderful region of Europe became a dry, blighted, untilled, unpopulous waste of green plains and ruined cities. The iron hand is removed, and we find Christ's holy Catholic Church in full possession of her divine polity and apostolic forms; her metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, lectors, and lighters of the lamps: the regenerating water in her founts, and the bloodless sacrifice upon her altars. Beneath that tremendous tyranny she was exercising her sacerdotal office under the shadow of her Master's wings.”

This eloquent and pathetic description is obviously as applicable, at this moment, to the condition of the Chris-

tians throughout the Turkish empire, as it ever was. And is it not sad that it should be so? It is in vain to shut our eyes to the fact because we do not see or hear of any particular atrocities perpetrated. What know we of what passes in this "huge infidel empire," as Father Faber calls it? How can we be expected to hear of all the horrors committed upon Christians by these "foul unbelievers?" Is not their *religion* the same? And is it not withal a cursed system of anti-Christian abomination that all this fell fanatic hate of Christianity has its root? Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? And will any *Catholic* be so duped by the *cant* of civilization, as to fancy that its superficial influence (even where it extends—how far into Asia *does* it extend?) can counteract the effects of a foul and demoniacal delusion? No! It is scarcely possible for a Christian man to view the rule of Islam with any other feelings than those of execration and abomination; or to regard its influence on Christian soil, and its presence amongst Christian homes and altars, as anything but a pollution and a profanation. It is utterly impossible for the Christian mind to do otherwise than pray for its expulsion—its extirpation—to look on its existence in Europe otherwise than as a blot on civilization, and a scandal to Christendom. When Father Faber, twelve years ago, was on the shores of Scio, he saw the Turkish fleet sailing to Candia, to quench a rebellion there. He "mourned over the probable scenes of atrocious barbarity which would follow their success," and added, "Four rebellions at once, besides troubles on the Persian frontier, are *omens of the coming downfall of this huge Infidel empire*. Such an event will throw European diplomacy into confusion, the knot of which war must sooner or later cut. *Yet Christians can scarcely have divided opinions on the subject.*" Father Faber was not then a Catholic, but his sentiments on the subject were Catholic, and his words have proved prophetic. Indeed, it scarcely required the spirit of prophecy to predict the doom and downfall of Turkey. Fall it must, with every other foul dominion that has cursed the human race. Speaking of Smyrna, Father Faber said, "as a Christian city it is deeply interesting. It is the only city where any of the Seven Churches of Asia were, which exists as a city. The 'candlestick' is giving feeble light—still untaken away; but the *brutal inundation of Mahomet's*

*foul creed* has swept over the whole place, and is in itself a tremendous punishment." Yes, indeed, a tremendous punishment, not only for Smyrna, but for every other city of the East which has submitted to the curse of schism. Father Faber would now acknowledge his words true in a deeper and wider sense than that in which he wrote them.

Sadly true is it that, from the first rise of the false prophet, to the falling of Constantinople, and thence to the present period, Islamism was, is, and shall be, the "tremendous punishment" of *Eastern* schism. Of the *Western* schism the retribution has been *Rationalism*. And here we must introduce a profound remark of that illustrious Christian philosopher, Schlegel, "that, considered in its true internal spirit, and divested of its outward garb of oriental customs, the religion of Mahomet will be found rather to bear a stronger affinity to the insane and superficial philosophy of the eighteenth century; and if that philosophy were honest and consistent, it would not hesitate loudly to proclaim and revere Mahomet, if not as a *prophet*, still as a *real reformer* of mankind, the first promulgator and mighty teacher of truth, and the founder of the pure religion of reason." If we are not mistaken, we have heard Father Faber, in controversial lectures, touch upon this latent principle of association between Protestantism (in its abstract form and ultimate development of Rationalism) and Mahomedanism. And it is beyond a doubt, that in the precise proportion in which a man advances towards this development, he approximates towards Mahomedanism, so intimate a connection is there between Islamism, schism, and scepticism. It is not necessary that a man should wear a turban to be in substance a Mahomedan. The essence of Mahomedanism is the absence of all dogma, and the indulgence of self, except so far as it may be socially inconsistent. Hence it is that one of the most popular writers of our day, Leigh Hunt, is a great admirer of Mahomet, while he speaks of our Adorable and Divine Lord with a cool insolence which would excite our indignation, were it not that in an old and gifted man, on the verge of the grave, it raises feelings in which mingle horror, compassion, and grief. Now all this has a direct bearing on our subject. It serves to account, in a great degree, for the sympathy felt in this country with the Turks. For, among the majority of our Protestant fellow-countrymen, there is this sympathy. It is not

merely (as it may be among many Catholics) a feeling of opposition to the Russians, but of positive sympathy with the Moslems. There is the fellow-feeling which makes men wondrous kind. There is a hearty admiration, an evident *partiality*, a scarcely concealed sympathy. A little reflection must show us that it is impossible that the English can sympathize with the Russians. We speak not of *political* antipathy; suppose that did not exist, supposing Russia liberal in politics, our arguments would equally apply. The Turkish is a despotic power; yet it does not prevent the *free* subjects of this country from feeling sympathy and partiality for them. The reason of their want of sympathy with the Russians is, that the latter are really religious, imbued with feelings of *reverence* and *veneration*, and regard for traditional authority, episcopal mission, and dogmatic teaching; regarded in this country with contempt, as savouring of superstition and fanaticism.

No doubt, to some extent it is true that this must be so, the Russians being in schism. But we need scarcely say that it is not on this account that our countrymen think so. On the contrary, this is precisely the only point upon which, if at all, there is the least possibility of sympathy between them and the Russians; that they are in schism. If they were not in schism their reverence would be equally derided as superstition, and their zeal as fanaticism; while neither the one nor the other can be seen as the disciples of Islamism. The sympathies of this country are either with the Turks—or if against them, equally against the Russians, except were it avowed that success is wished to Russia, on account of its present opposition to Catholicism. This, whatever the course taken, is the opinion entertained by Protestant politicians: they are equally actuated by hatred of Catholicism, and a secret sympathy for Islamism, scepticism or schism. Thus, the writer of the “Cross and the Crescent,” while he exclaims against the ignominy of England, now called upon to wield the sword of Islamism against Christianity, and to incur the everlasting obloquy of fighting with the Crescent against the Cross, says, the orthodox Greek Church has been from the earliest ages more unobtrusive in its piety, and more primitive in its practice than any other of the Christian Churches, “considers that the present crisis has been brought about by a Roman Catholic aggression against

the holiest and most highly valued of their privileges," and goes on to speak in one place of the inoffensive and unencroaching character of the Greek Church, and in another place admiringly observes that strong antagonism to the Roman Catholics is one of its striking characteristics: so that with this writer, who represents the view of the Anticatholic party in this country, the war ought to be one in favour of schism, not against Islamism. There is another class of writers who look with equal horror upon Islamism and schism upon religious grounds; the former for its having no Christian faith, and the latter for having too much of it; and there is another class of those who oppose this war—who sink the religious view altogether—look at the subject purely as one of politics—regard Russia and Turkey simply as two despotic powers—and counsel that they should be left to fight it out and destroy each other. One of these writers says that the Turks cannot be reformed without making them cease to be Mahomedans, (in which Dr. Newman agrees,) and that Turkey cannot be sustained:

"Decay and decline are written upon her material power, and her moral strength is a burlesque on the name. Humanity sickens and sinks at the thought of allowing such a mass of political and moral corruption any longer to pollute Europe; she must fall. God and man are weary of her, and all the power of England and France cannot hold her up." The same writer says: "Does Russia deal in serfs? then Turkey deals in slaves: and if the hardy sons of the desert are oppressed by the former, the latter openly sells, in the markets of Eastern Europe and of Asia, the loveliest women of the world, the descendants of those who once ruled the most humane of mankind, the inhabitants of the finest portions of the earth. If it be alleged that the Russians change the face of society wherever they conquer, it may with equal truth be answered that the Turks, and all Mussulmen, do the same thing wherever they can, and have done so during all their career of barbarity and oppression. The truth is, both powers stand in the way of human progress; and as long as the Czar remains absolute in Russia, and the Mahomedan faith and the prerogatives of the Sultan continue intact in Turkey, there can be no hope for liberty and civilization. It is evident, then, that if the defeat of Russia by Turkey, or the overthrow of the Ottoman by the Czar, involves no further consequences than the destruction of the rule of the one or of both, we ought to say, let them fight it out. It is not always good when Herod and Pilate are friends. It is not then that any right-minded man would mourn; for all such would rather

rejoice over the fall of both these powers ; but the present fall of Turkey by Russian arms might lead to consequences destructive to many existing interests."

And then the writer instances the "balance of power." This is the moral or political view of your mere modern "liberal," i.e. a man who looks at events merely in relation to his miserable theories of human government, and false ideas of human enlightenment, with the usual cant about civilization, progress, and the like—all utterly independent of religion. The immortal Schlegel has very justly said that "the system of the balance of power is either merely the substitute for a higher principle, or a mere supplement—a subordinate auxiliary to the settlement of accidental questions. With the great revolution which closed the last century commenced an epoch of intellectual as well as political barbarism and desolation, to which the mere negative principle of an equilibrium of power, however it might be adequate to the ordinary relations of civilized states, was no longer applicable, for, now a higher principle of moral and sound reparation was needed. In the system of balance of power, right and wrong are not the criterion of political estimation, nor the rule of political negotiations ; the great object is the prevention of political ascendancy : but there may be cases in which right is clearly on the side of ascendant might,—when the cause of justice is espoused by preponderate power. And in such cases, with a total disregard of justice, the system of balance of power will fling its weight into the opposing scale merely to impede the progress of an overgrown dominion." He likens such a system to the "false illuminism" of the age. He goes on to say that the power of evil cannot be overcome by a mere negative principle of resistance, but by a divine power. "A mighty religious war, which has shaken all moral existence to its centre, and convulsed it in all its depths, can be completely terminated only by a true religious peace." The present is on the part of the two principal combatants—really a "mighty religious war," and it is only pedantic politicians who can expect it to be terminated by the miserable compromising system of "balance of power." Between opposing principles there can be no lasting compromise. And as to peace—what concord can there be between Christ and antichrist? Between schism and scepticism—between rationalism and Protestantism—between



Islamism and infidelity—there may be compromise—between *any* false systems. But between eternal truth and diabolical error—between Mahomedanism and Catholicism—between the Crescent and the Cross—there can be only an eternal antagonism.

What is the present condition of the fine countries under the Ottoman rule has been amply exhibited in recent works. Not long ago, a writer in this journal, reviewing Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, speaks most justly of his description of the present condition of the Ottoman Empire, as "a record of barbarism which no one can read without disgust and horror." "The most famed portion of the world," (he truly adds,) "is now a desert; nor is it likely to improve so long as it shall be ruled by a bandit government in league with the robber; which shares her spoils and connives at her massacres.\* The unhappy Christians are at once the prey of the fanatic Kurds, the robber Arabs, and the plundering troops of the Turkish rulers." What rulers are they who, instead of protecting their subjects from oppression, participate in its profits? For all the horrors inflicted upon the Christian population under the Turkish government, that government is responsible, whether they are actually perpetrated, or only permitted, by its vassals. Its rulers, instead of being protectors, are persecutors of its unhappy subjects. In short, its rulers are robbers; and its rule one of rapine. The writer we have referred to most truly stated that although the Christians are not directly persecuted on account of their religion in Constantinople and its immediate vicinity, yet outside of that narrow circle, they are most barbarously oppressed and plundered: and there is a party large and fanatical enough to drive them from the capital if not overawed by the powers of Europe. In a word, persecution—the Koran, or the sword—is the very soul of Mahomedanism. It is impossible to form an alliance between Christianity and this degrading superstition. Well might the writer express a doubt whether it be either right or expedient to reduce the most fertile portion of the

---

\* Dublin Review, No. lxix. p. 137. While these pages are printing we have heard Mr. Layard actually endeavouring, in the House of Commons, to destroy the effect of his own book, by arguing that the Turkish Government did not *commit* these atrocities, but only *permitted* them, and then tried to punish them! What a defence!

earth to a wilderness for the sake of preserving the "balance of power."

Let us requote, for the instruction of those who talk of Turkish "tolerance," and ridicule the idea of any necessity of protectors for Christians under Turkish rule, a passage or two from Mr. Layard's work :

"The Turkish government, so far from fulfilling the pledges given to the British embassy, had sent officers who had grievously oppressed and illtreated the Christian inhabitants ; whole districts being thus reduced to the greatest misery and want. Every manner of cruelty and torture had been urged to compel the suffering Christians to yield up the little property they had concealed from the Turkish authorities. There was no tribunal to which they could go for redress. A deputation sent to the Pasha had been illtreated."

\* \* \* \* \*

"A body of Turkish troops had lately visited the village and destroyed the little that had been restored since the Turkish invasion. The chief had been thrown, with his hands tied behind his back, on a heap of burning straw, and compelled to disclose where a little money, that had been saved by the villagers, was buried. The priest had been torn from the altar and beaten before the congregation. Men showed the marks of torture on their bodies and of fetters round their limbs. For the sake of conveying a few piasters from this poverty-stricken people all these deeds of violence had been committed by officers sent by the Porte to *protect* the Christian subjects of the Sultan."

These horrors could scarcely have been surpassed at the era of the Crusades, and certainly show that the nature of the Ottoman rule is unchanged. How could it be changed? The obscene and savage religion being the same, how can the character of the people be materially altered? How can the superficial, skin-deep, change of modern "civilization," even assuming it to have spread far into Turkey, (which it is clear it has not,) eradicate the intrinsic brutality of a *religion* invented by the devil and the depravity of a people brought up under its debasing influence? Mahomedanism is a religion of *ruffianism* : and can only bring barbarism and blood wherever it stretches its accursed sway.

Some recent numbers of the *Annals of the Faith* supply some extremely interesting information as to the present condition of Palestine and the oppression of the Ottomans and the concourse of pilgrims. One communica-

tion commences thus—with equal truth, charity, and beauty.

“The East, with all its schisms and antique heresies, is a region of faith. We may form our judgment of it from various points of view: but on witnessing the respect which its populations, although separated from the true Church of Jesus Christ, entertain for the Holy Places; on witnessing the sacrifices they enjoin upon themselves to be able to come on pilgrimages—often from a distance of five hundred leagues—we must come to the conclusion that there still remains in these souls, who manifest such great piety, some good dispositions; it is to be hoped that, for a great number of them their ignorance and sincerity will be received as an excuse for their error, and that God will find among them some of His elect. All the Christian nations have their representations in this multitude of pious visitors. More especially at the feasts of Easter the pilgrims come in vast numbers from all the countries of the East, *especially the Greeks from Russia and Greece, the Armenians,*” &c. “They arrive, some by land, others on bad vessels—in which they are stowed almost like negroes that are transported into the colonies. They expose themselves to the inclemency of the weather, to numberless privations, *and the exactions of the Turks and Arabs.*” “As soon as the church (of the Holy Sepulchre) *opened by the Turks*, the pilgrims came to pay their devotion and cover with kisses that stone more precious than gold in the eyes of Christians possessed of faith.”

“When the Church is opened by the Turks.” What sacristans for a Church! What keepers of the Sepulchre of Christ! Is it not sad to think that such a place should be in such vile custody, and that the pious pilgrims of Christendom should be subject to their atrocious “exactions” and iniquitous oppressions?

Another of these communications contains this grand sentence: “Catholicism and heresy will come to a severe contest on the subject of the Holy Places. It does not seem impossible that the old Turkish empire may one day be broken against the Tomb of the Man-God!” The writer goes on to quote the expressions of a young French priest, a pious pilgrim to the Holy Places. “The Crusades of the middle ages are but an episode of that secular crusade which still exists, and will only terminate at the dawn of the day when the cross shall be finally triumphant.” We think this one of those profound ideas which display the union of piety and philosophy. It is a fallacy to speak of the Crusades as essentially mediæval. The particular manifestation was mediæval in its character, but the spirit

was of all ages. They arose in the eternal antagonism between faith and infidelity,—the tendency of the one to revile, the other reverence, whatever attaches to the Incarnate God,—to this antagonism there can be no end while the earth endures. So long as Christian hearts adore the Mysteries of God made Man, so long will they regard the scene of that Mystery with profound veneration, and revolt from the idea of its being polluted and degraded. The feeling may find expression among men of one age or character in appeal to arms—or those of another in appeals to prayer; the outward expression will vary with the ruder or the milder nature of the national piety; it may take the form of enlightened enthusiasm, or of ignorant fanaticism, as it arises in the pure soil of the true faith, or under the tainted influences of schism and superstition: but it has its root in the eternal antagonism between the diabolical and divine.

“Let us thank heaven,” says the same pious writer, “that the period of cold indifference towards the Holy Land is for ever past. We are already far removed from that epoch when the representative of a great nation, asked to protect the Holy Sepulchre against the invasion of schism, avowed that he had no wish to disturb the peace of the world for the sake of a few stones, and a chest six feet long. And yet it was to enforce the right of watering with their tears this *chest two feet long*, that our fathers shed their blood.” Yes, and how many sainted souls are associated in the Catholic mind with the history of the Crusades! Who that recollects the touching story of *la chère Sainte Elizabeth*, as written by the Comte de La Montalembert, (to give one instance out of hundreds,) can fail to feel, as he recalls the pious submission with which that beautiful saint sent forth her young spouse to the crusade, that in proportion to the piety of a Catholic heart is the warmth of its zeal for Holy Places in general, and for the Holy Places in particular. If angels were employed to remove the Holy House from the revolting pollutions of the infidel, that it might be preserved for the veneration of Christendom, does not that speak eloquently of the ardent affection with which Catholics should seek to rescue the hallowed scenes of our Lord’s earthly life from the same pollutions, or at least to protect from molestation pious pilgrims who resort thither to satisfy their devotion?

Men who care not for principles, may look with contempt upon the contest, but it is not the less one which will enlist the passions of one half the world against the other. The majority of men are not rationalists or illuminists, they are likelier to be fanatics: and a war of religious opinion cannot be dealt with by the "balance of power." If it were a contest only between the Greek schism and Islamism, we should be ashamed to wish success to Islamism, for we can never forget that schismatics *are* Christian, and may be Catholic, and that the continuation of the schism is in a great degree the result of the foul domination of the infidel, which is at the same time its chastisement. If it were a contest between one schism and another, the Greek and the Protestant, we should find it difficult to wish success to the worse of the two. But it is not a mere contest between schism and Islamism, or between one schism and another. There is a contest between schism and Catholicism. If it were only a contest between Russia and Turkey, we should not quite say, with the pamphlet writer just referred to, that it were well for both to fall, because we believe Russia to have a Catholic destiny reserved for her: but we do agree that if Turkey were to fall under Russia, there would be peril to other interests, loftier far and infinitely more momentous than the miserable figment of the "balance of power;" we mean, the sacred interests of Catholicity.

As to the Turks, there can be no natural alliance between them and Christians. "Their hatred and contempt of the Giaour and the Frangi," says our contemporary the *Edinburgh Review*, is as burning as ever, perhaps even more so, because they are forced to implore their aid. The Eastern seeks Christian aid, in the same spirit and with the same disgust as he would eat swine's flesh, were it the only means of securing him from starvation." Nor can Christian men, if more than *nominally* Christian, wish anything but destruction to the anti-Christian power. Dr. Newman, in his emphatic way, says that "barbarians they have lived, and barbarians they will die;" and with his unsurpassed power shows that this is a moral necessity.

"Many things are possible; one thing is inconceivable, that they should, as a nation, accept of Christian civilization, and in default of it, that they should be able to stand their ground against the

encroachments of Russia, the interested and contemptuous patronage of Europe, and the hatred of their subject population."

The grand reason this illustrious man urges for his conclusion is, that Christianity is the religion of civilization; and the Turks, to accept Christianity, must cease, of course, to be what they are, its hereditary foe. What and where are they (he asks) without the Koran?

While we write these lines an interesting article in our talented contemporary, the *Rambler*, is published, giving a very similar picture of Turkey to that which we have presented; and powerfully depicting the extreme intolerance—the intense *hate*—the essential antagonism and animosity with which Turks must necessarily in their *hearts*—regard Christianity. And at the same time we find symptoms of the Christian population of European Turkey rising against their oppressors, and of her *Christian allies*, preparing to aid her in coercing them. Here we see a necessary consequence of the alliance between a Christian power and the infidel; and what a sad dilemma are we placed in—if this is a necessary result of resistance to Russia. In short, this is the great lesson to be drawn from the whole history of the subject—the fatal and accursed fruits of schism. To schism we have traced the isolation of Russia, and the spread of Islamism. And in the complicated difficulties of the Eastern question we see some of the sad results of the division of Christendom, and the destruction of Catholic unity. We might sum up all we have to say as to the fact in a single sentence of Dr. Newman's. "Had the voice of the Popes been listened to, there would have been no Eastern question to embarrass and embroil Europe—there would have been no Turks in Constantinople, and no need of Russians to drive them out." As to the *future*, we can also express our opinion in another sentence of Dr. Newman's. "Political questions are mainly decided by political *expediency*. All that need be said on behalf of the Sultan is, that the Christian powers are bound to keep such lawful promises as they have made to him. All that need be said in favour of the Czar is, that he is attacking an infamous power, the enemy of God and man. And all that need be said by way of warning to the Catholic is, that he should beware of strengthening the Czar's cause by denying or ignoring its strong point." That strong point is, that



Russia, as a nation, is in earnest against Antichrist. All but party writers, or those who have a *Russo-phobia*, admit this. It is idle to doubt that Russia enters into the war with strong religious feeling, and England and France with an utter absence of it, and purely upon reasons of *political expediency*. They own it. It is patent upon the face of the diplomatic papers. At the same time, while we cannot consider the subject with such strong animosity against Russia as some profess to feel, and while we have the satisfaction of seeing the illustrious Brownson entertain ideas of the subject very similar to our own; we are also aware that there must needs be more diversity of Catholic opinion as to the future than as to the past, because the issues of the controversy are so complicated, that, as our contemporary the *Tablet* well said, "to human eyes it would seem that whichever way it ended, the Church must lose—so it has ever *seemed* in all human controversies." But so it will not be,—whatever the immediate result, we have confidence that the ultimate destiny of the Church in some way will be advanced by it, and a firm belief that the destiny of Russia is to advance it. An empire so mighty, so compact, and so devout, is not to be for ever the prey of schism—her destiny and tendency are towards the East—which wants some such power to break up the hideous fabrics of Paganism or Islamism, idolatry or infidelity—and smite them in pieces with a rod of iron, to prepare the way for the progress of Christianity; and whether before or after the work is done, she will return to Catholic unity—the natural reward of her deep-rooted national piety.

We need scarcely say that we look at the question in the light in which, as it seems to us all good Catholics should regard it, that is, in its bearing on the interests of the Church. This is the spirit in which the Church herself teaches us to contemplate the march of human events, and the fate of earthly powers; the spirit in which she instructs her children, on the most solemn occasion of the year, to pray "*Oremus pro Ecclesia Dei ut eam Deus pacificare adunare et custodire dignetur, toto orbe terrarum, subiciens ei principatus et potestates:*" and in the litanies to say, "*ut inimicos sanctæ ecclesiæ humiliare digneris,*" and "*ut regibus et principibus Christianis pacem et veram concordiam donare digneris.*" In conformity with the spirit of these petitions, it is plain that Catholics should regard the pending contest with this wish, that

any powers opposed to that of the Church should be humbled. Unhappily the issues of the present contest are somewhat complicated. If the Turks are animated with a hatred of Christianity, the Russians are actuated by animosity to Catholicism. And if the Russians hate the Papacy, the English hate the Church. If it be desired that Russia should be destroyed because she is schismatic, the same argument might be turned against England, whose influence is infinitely more injurious to the Church. If it be desired on account of the territorial aggressions of Russia, we have shown that they have not been greater than those of other European powers—especially Lutheran Prussia; and that they are not to be compared to those of Protestant England. We care not for the bugbear of territorial aggressions: it is not England who ought to be scandalized at it. It is religious aggression—schismatic oppression—heretical fanaticism which we fear; and were we put to choose between this and the atrocious influence of Islamism—it were, indeed, a cruel alternative for Catholicism. Whether this shall be the alternative depends entirely on the course pursued by France. England, as a government, cares nothing for the religious aspect of the question, and though there are many thousands of our countrymen who do, it is either from sympathy with schism or Islamism, and always from hatred to Catholicism. England is anxious only about territorial influence. It happens providentially that the religious aggression of Russia involves territorial aggression, or it causes apprehension about it. If those apprehensions were quieted, England would not interpose—or if she did, it would be in favour of Russia, and from enmity to Catholicism. How is it with France? Most of her politicians, or statesmen, are the worldly-minded men, who, like English ministers, care merely about territorial aggrandisement and temporal influence. These men would act very much as English ministers would. They would at all events sacrifice the interests of the Church readily, and without scruple, even if they did not actively oppose them. There are statesmen in France who really look only or mainly to the religious aspect of the Eastern question, and with a view to the influence of Catholicism: who desire to secure for the Church fair play, and to protect her just rights, and defend her from the insolent aggressions of schism. What sym-

pathy there can be, however, between these and the others we need scarcely ask.

And it is to be observed, that when the French Government commenced the negotiations in the East in something of a Catholic spirit of anxiety and zeal for Catholic interests in the Holy Land, the English Government showed the reverse of sympathy, and indicated something very like contempt. Two years ago, the English Minister wrote, "that it would indeed be lamentable if a serious difference were to arise on a matter so unimportant as the question which has been raised between France and Russia, as to certain privileges in regard to the custody of a Holy Building at Jerusalem." There is an ill-concealed scorn here, quite characteristic of Protestantism, which, in spite of Jeremy Taylor, has never been marked by "reverence for Holy Places." And France only purchased the co-operation of England by relinquishing her contention on behalf of Catholicity, and consenting to make the question one of mere *policy*. It is not therefore that France is combating on behalf of the Church; she is not a champion for Catholicism; she merely unites with England in resisting a common rival. She has resigned her right to contend on the part of Catholicism, in order that she may oppose the pretensions of Russia in the cause of schism. There may, indeed, be a unity of interest where there is no sympathy of feeling. And if French statesmen think French interests involved in opposition to Russia, then they may work with England so long as English statesmen think English interests are involved, which will be so long as India is hers. Still this is a policy not pursued for Catholic objects; the aim being merely to obstruct the influence of Russia in the East. Accidentally, this may tend to relieve Catholicity from the pressure of schism; but at the same time it stops France from interfering to protect it from the accursed influence of Islamism. And were France in the position of Russia, and contending for Catholicism as Russia is now for schism, England and Russia would be infallibly leagued against her. It is not easy, then, to feel sympathy for the *spirit* in which the allies enter on the contest. One can only hope that the issues may be overruled by Providence to the good of the Church. Were it otherwise, and were it only a question of the sacrifice of Russia to Turkey, we should not hesitate earnestly to deprecate what we should deem

a sad catastrophe to Christendom. Schismatic though she be, Russia is still Christian; and if she be not Catholic, we cannot but recollect the language of Lacordaire, that she is schismatic, so to speak, by accident. And the history of the last three centuries, which we have hastily reviewed, shows that Russia has been a valuable bulwark for Christendom against the foul fanaticism of Mahomedanism. Moreover, the contest between the internal state and the social progress of the two empires exhibits proudly the infinite superiority of Christianity, (even under the disadvantages of schism,) to the debasing influence of Islamism. Most unchristian would it be to desire evil to such an empire as that of Russia. Rather would we cherish the hope that she is reserved for a nobler destiny, for which her compact power and enormous extent so well fit her—the destiny of aiding in the final triumphs of the Church, and of promoting, by her return to Catholic unity, the realizations of the grand prediction of Le Maistre, that one day Europe and Asia shall say High Mass together under the dome of Santa Sophia.

---

ART. V.—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.* Session, 1854. Parts I. and II.

**M**ANY persons fancy that the introduction of manufactures would be the best means of remedying our sad condition. This is a mistake. As cheapness is the main cause of success in trade, we cannot compete with those who are already in possession of the market, and have thousands of millions sunk in the erection of buildings, machinery, and other appliances, and a people accustomed to the vocation, until we can supply as good an article for less money. This we cannot do unless we have the materials which go to compose it, cheaper, or a cheaper supply of food for the men who work it up, or skilled and unskilled labour cheaper, or facilities for working it up more cheaply, or conveying it by land or

water carriage to market more cheaply, or there exchanging it more cheaply, and above all, are left by law perfectly free to avail ourselves of all the natural or artificial advantages of our position. We do not pretend to specify all the elements of manufacturing success; but in proportion as we want the above, are our chances of failure. Take, for instance, our linen trade. Few would wear cotton shirts if they could get a better article, linen shirts, at the same price; but we cannot supply them at the same price till the cultivation of flax is so extended that it will be as cheap here as cotton is in England, and food, coals, iron, and labour (skilled and unskilled) are as cheap here as there, and we have equal facilities as the manufacturers of England by roads, railways, canals, rivers, and shipping, for "buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market" at home and abroad. In order to secure these elements of success, the obvious and natural course is to commence by tilling our soil, working our mines, fishing our waters, navigating our rivers, lakes, and seas, improving our roads, and above all, not giving away our labourers for nothing to our competitors.

A cheap supply of food and of the raw materials of manufacture is the first essential element of success. It was such a supply that was the cause of our success, when, towards the close of the seventeenth century, we were driving the English manufacturers and fishermen out of all the markets where we were allowed by law to compete with them. This is confessed in the plainest possible terms in the address of the English House of Lords, to William III., in 1698, wherein they represent:

*"That the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries for life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants, to leave their habitations, to settle there to the increase of the woollen manufacture of Ireland, which makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive, that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here, by which the trade of this nation and the value of lands will very much decrease, and the numbers of your people be much lessened here;"* and beseech his majesty to declare to his subjects in Ireland, "that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there, hath long, and will ever be looked upon with great jealousy," &c. &c.—L. J. p. 314.

And thereupon the parliament take measures accordingly,

for the suppression of this dangerous manufacture, by the penalties of fine, confiscation, imprisonment, and transportation; the preamble of the Act 10 W. III., c. 16. reciting :—

“Forasmuch as wool and woollen manufactures of cloth, serge, bazes, kerseys, and other stuffs made or mixed with wool, are the greatest and most profitable commodities of this kingdom, on which the value of lands and the trade of the nation do chiefly depend, and whereas great quantities of the like manufactures have of late been made, and are daily increasing in the kingdom of Ireland, and in the English plantations in America, and are exported from thence to foreign markets, heretofore supplied from England, which will inevitably tend to sink the value of lands, and tend to the ruin of the trade and woollen manufactures of this kingdom.”

They had previously prohibited us in 1663, from exporting to England or any of her colonies, and by this Act they prohibited us from exporting, our woollen manufactures to any market whatever, except “the few wool ports in England where they were liable to duties which amounted to a prohibition.”\* So with regard to our fisheries. In 1673, Sir William Temple, in a letter reviewing the resources of the country, spoke of them as nearly extinct, and considered the main obstacles to their development to be the want of people caused by the wars and plagues of the three preceding reigns, and *the abundance and cheapness of provisions*: but in 1698 the English fishermen were obliged to imitate the woollen drapers, and to petition for protection against us, the fishermen of Folkestone complaining that “the said town solely depends upon the fishing trade, and chiefly on herrings caught in Yarmouth seas, which they are like to lose by the Irish catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford, and sending them to the Straits, and thereby forestalling and ruining the Petitioners’ market;” and those of Aldborough complaining, “That formerly the Petitioners had a considerable trade in selling herrings for exportation; but of late great quantities have been caught in Ireland at a small charge, where they sell them for a fourth part of the charge the petitioners are at in taking them, and from thence they are exported to the Straits

---

\* Lord Sheffield’s Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland, p. 151.



and other places, to the prejudice of the trade of this kingdom." \*

Generalities are suspicious, and do not convince sober, reflecting people—and therefore we enter into these details merely as instances of the general system to which English traders were obliged to resort. In short, they saw that while we had food and materials cheaper than they, and equal facilities of access to home and foreign markets, they could not compete with us, and therefore they prohibited us by acts of parliament from exporting any of our manufactures to the colonies, or to any market frequented by them, or any of our raw produce (with the remarkable exception of cattle, the importation of which the landowners enacted to be a *nuisance*) to any people but themselves, so as to invert the settled maxims of trade, and to compel us to *sell* all our surplus of raw materials in their own or the cheapest market, and at the prices they were so good as to give us—and when they were not quick and expert enough with sufficiently stringent acts of parliament, and we discovered some loopholes for allowing us to exercise our industry, they adopted the summary process of embargoes, some specially directed against the export of those articles which we could sell cheaper than they, and several against all our external commerce whatever. Of the latter kind, we had twenty-four between 1740 and 1780, one of them extending over three years. These efforts to deprive us by mere violence of the superior advantages of our position in respect to cheapness, ultimately became so intolerable, as to force the volunteers to label their cannons' mouth with "free trade, or ———," and to make their legislative spokesman, Mr. Grattan, state in his celebrated amendment to the Address in 1779, that "the constant drain to supply absentees, and the unfortunate prohibition of our trade have caused such calamity, that the natural support of the country has decayed, and our manufacturers are dying for want; famine stalks hand in hand with hopeless wretchedness, and the only means left to support the expiring trade of this miserable part of your majesty's dominions, is to open a free export trade, and let your Irish subjects enjoy their natural birthright,"—and to compel the House of Commons to resolve unanimously

---

\* Com. Journ. for 1698, pp. 178—9.

"that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a FREE TRADE ALONE that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." The fact of the volunteers, who were Protestants, and so bigoted as in their two great conventions at Dungannon and Dublin, to reject a proposition for restoring the franchise to the Catholics, of the highest and wealthiest classes in the country, of undoubted attachment to the throne and the constitution, and British connection, and who had even the clergy of the Established Church, as chaplains of their regiments, and marching with them in their cassocks on great occasions, and who, for the moderation of their views, might be considered the prototypes of the Anti-Corn-law League, labelling their cannon with such a motto, and then when they had obtained "a free export trade," and a sort of an understanding that the traders of England should not again interfere with it, quietly dissolving, like the League, without insisting even on Parliamentary reform, though there were amongst them, as in the League, several discontented and turbulent spirits, agitating for some measure with that designation, and though they were one hundred thousand strong, consisting of horse, foot, and artillery, in due proportion, and well equipped and disciplined, supplied in abundance with all the munitions of war, and there were only six thousand royal troops in the island, and no money, to feed, clothe, or pay them, shows that the injustice of these attempts to defeat cheapness by force, became palpable enough to rouse the anger of the most moderate, conservative, and placable of subjects.

The removal of the prohibitions upon exports did not revive our ancient trade, and from 1780 till the present day, every imaginable contrivance for that purpose, (except the plain and obvious one,) has been resorted to; bounties, import duties upon English and foreign goods, combinations to use only Irish manufactures, &c., and every one of them has failed. In fact it is as useless for people who cannot maintain their fallacies by force, to attempt to prevent water from finding its level, as trade from flowing in the channel of cheapness. It is further absolutely unjust to ask a farmer to pay a shilling more for an article, said to have been made in Dublin, than he need pay for one admitted to have been made in London. It is a levying of blackmail or charity off him under a delusion of patriotism, and can be of no real utility. Moreover, in a poor miserable

country like ours the farmer will often have no choice, but "must cut his cloth according to his measure." Patriotic self-denying efforts of this kind may for awhile lend an appearance of success to a new manufacture, but they must in time relax, and the manufacture will then fail—for you can no more change the laws of nature than those of trade; and one of these is that "he that can sell a commodity cheapest, shall certainly have the trade of that commodity." Most of the efforts to revive manufactures have been made in Dublin. But Dublin has not any of the advantages of cheapness. From its local position, and being the seat of government, and the administration of justice, and the resort of all the classes that consume more than they produce, food, materials, and labour must be dearer there than anywhere else in Ireland. So far as carriage is concerned, the English trader will be as well off in respect of cheapness, as the carriage by sea is so trifling, and as to the inland markets he is already in possession of them, and the carriage to them costs him as little as it does his Dublin rival; and if the latter seeks a foreign market he is at a great disadvantage, as the duties are considerably higher on ships going from Dublin to foreign ports, than on those going to England or coastwise; and there are no such differential duties in England. These abortive efforts in Dublin are prejudicial to the nation, as they lead to the notion that we could not, on equal terms, compete with England. But begin with the beginning and create again, as you did before, cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of articles, and you will have manufactures reappear in Kilkenny, Carlow, Mallow, Doneraile, Fermoy, Kilmallock, Bandon, Bantry, Tralee, Athlone, Navan, &c., &c., as the centres and capitals of thriving agricultural districts—and in Dublin as the capital and emporium of a thriving nation; and possibly English manufacturers again confessing, in addresses to the Crown, and Acts of Parliament, their incompetence to struggle with the cheapness of our victuals, and goodness of our materials. Whereas, if, while we are importing Indian meal, and the worst of Scotch salt hake and herrings, and our people, in the terms of Mr. Grattan's resolution, are "dying of want, and famine stalks through the land hand in hand with hopeless wretchedness," and our lands are waste, our mines unworked, and myriads of fish pass around

our coast untouched, we were to attempt to establish manufactures on an extensive scale, in competition with England, we should fail, as we have failed since the early part of the last century; because we could not sell cheaper than those who are already in possession of the market, and the only effect of our efforts, while they should last, would be to increase the quantity of goods manufactured, without increasing the number or means of the consumers, and so proportionably to diminish wages and profits here and in England, and virtually to put off to a remote period the establishment of manufactures in a natural, and profitable, and permanent manner. On the other hand, if we begin by raising on our own soil, and catching on our own shores such an abundant supply of food, that we may export instead of importing, we turn the tide of trade and population, and from our superabundance may either establish manufactures in proportion to the extent of that superabundance, or take a greater portion of English manufactured goods, and prosecute more extensively and vigorously our own trade of producing food, and so serve both them and ourselves by the reciprocal exchange of our respective superfluities. This course, in addition to being the most natural, has this advantage, that it secures to the people that first object of all political arrangements—a sufficiency of food—whereas by engaging them in manufactures, you diminish the numbers employed in raising food, and so increase the chances of their perishing for want of it, while they are employed in the experiment of producing articles which *cannot* serve as food, and which they *may* not be able to exchange for it.

There is a sort of prejudice in favour of manufactures, in consequence of the great wealth of England being commonly attributed to them; but Adam Smith thinks that the laws and customs of that country, in relation to the tenure of land, “so favourable to the yeomanry, have contributed more to the present grandeur of England than all their boasted regulations of commerce taken together.” That eminent authority shows, by the example of America and other countries, that the plenty and cheapness of good land, and liberty to till it for their own benefit, are the principal causes of the rapid prosperity of states, and that the natural course which we have been indicating is the one for such a nation as this to pursue. He says:

"No equal capital puts in motion a greater quantity of productive labour than that of the farmer. Not only his labouring servants but his labouring cattle are productive labourers. In agriculture, too, Nature labours along with man, and though her labour costs no expense, its produce has its value, as well as that of the most expensive workman.....No equal quantity of productive labour employed in manufactures, can ever occasion so great reproduction. In them nature does nothing ; man does all : and the reproduction must always be in proportion to the strength of the agents that occasion it. The capital employed in agriculture, therefore, not only puts in motion a greater quantity of productive labour than any equal capital employed in manufactures, but in proportion, too, to the quantity of productive labour which it employs, it adds a much greater value to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to the real wealth and revenue of its inhabitants : *"Of all the ways in which a capital can be employed, it is by far the most advantageous to society....."*The revenue of all the inhabitants of the country is necessarily in proportion to the value of the annual produce of their land and labour. It has been the principal cause of the rapid progress of our own colonies towards wealth and greatness, that almost their whole capital have hitherto been employed in agriculture. They have no manufactures, *those household and coarser manufactures excepted, which necessarily accompany the progress of agriculture, and which are the work of the women and children in every private family.....*Were the Americans by combination or any other sort of violence to stop the importation of European manufactures, and thus by giving a monopoly to such of their own countrymen as could manufacture the like goods, divert any considerable part of their capitals into this employment, they would retard instead of accelerating the further increase of their annual produce, and would obstruct instead of promoting the progress of their country towards real wealth and greatness."....."As subsistence is in the nature of things prior to conveniency and luxury, so the industry which procures the former must be prior to that which ministers to the latter. The cultivation and improvement of the country, therefore, which affords subsistence, must necessarily be prior to the increase of the town which furnishes only the means of conveniency and luxury. *It is the surplus produce of the country, or what is over and above the maintenance of the cultivators, that constitutes the subsistence of the town, which can therefore increase only with the increase of the surplus produce.....*The most effectual expedient for raising the value of that surplus produce, for encouraging its increase, and consequently the improvement and cultivation of the land, would be to allow the most perfect freedom to the trade of all mercantile nations. This perfect freedom of trade would be the most effectual expedient for supplying them in due time with all the artificers, manufacturers, and merchants whom they want at home : and for the filling up in the properest and most advantage-

ous manner that very important void which is felt there. The continual increase of the surplus produce of their land would in due time create a greater capital than what would be employed with the ordinary rate of profit in the improvement and cultivation of the land, and the surplus part of it would naturally turn itself to the employment of artificers and manufacturers at home. But these artificers and manufacturers finding at home both the materials of their work and the fund of their subsistence, might immediately, even with much less art and skill, be able to work as CHEAP as the little artificers and manufacturers of such mercantile states who had both to bring from a greater distance. Even though from want of art and skill they might not for some time be able to work as cheap, yet, finding a market at home, they might be able to sell their work there as cheap as that of artificers and manufacturers of such mercantile states which could not be brought to that market but from so great a distance: and, as their art and skill improved, they would be soon able to sell it cheaper. The artificers and manufacturers of such mercantile states, therefore, would immediately be rivalled in the market of those landed nations, and soon after undersold and jostled out of it altogether. The cheapness of the manufactures of those landed nations, in consequence of the gradual improvements of art and skill, would, in due time, extend their sale beyond the home market, and carry them to many foreign markets, from which they would in the same manner gradually jostle out many of the manufacturers of such mercantile nations.....In the exportation of the produce of their own country, the merchants of a landed nation would have an advantage of the same kind over those of mercantile nations, which its artificers and manufacturers had over the artificers and manufacturers of such nations: the advantage of finding at home that cargo and those stores and provisions which the others were obliged to seek for at a distance. With inferior art and skill in navigation, therefore, they would be able to sell that cargo as cheap in foreign markets, as the merchants of such mercantile nations, and with equal art and skill they would be able to sell it cheaper. They would soon, therefore, rival those mercantile nations in this branch of foreign trade, and in due time would jostle them out of it altogether."—pp. 242-52—444.

We have quoted at this length these passages from this great political economist as they exactly represent the ancient policy of this country under the native or Brehon laws, and also, indeed, under the common law of England up to 1661, and it was this policy, notwithstanding some deviation from it then—which led to that cheapness of food, and goodness of materials, and success in manufactures of which English traders were so jealous. We



confess to a great prejudice in favour of any course which we find in conformity with the ancient or Brehon laws ; for on the coolest and most impartial consideration of our history, we feel perfectly satisfied that under them our lands were cultivated to the highest hill-tops—our mines worked to an extent of which, those, who have not carefully looked into the question, have no conception—our fisheries were followed as a source of national wealth and power, next only in importance to our agriculture, our imports (free imports) of all the conveniences and luxuries of life were in full proportion to the market prepared for them by this development of our natural resources, and that there is no exaggeration in the description of the country by the Italian poet of the tenth century, quoted by O'Halloran.

“ Far westward lies an isle of ancient fame,  
By nature blessed, and Scotia is her name  
Enrolled in books. Exhaustless is her store  
Of veiny silver and of golden ore :  
Her fruitful soil for ever teems with wealth,  
With gems her waters and her air with health,  
Her waving furrows yield with bending corn,  
And arts and arms her envied sons adorn.”

It is quite clear that under them we had no periodical famines. It will be seen from what Adam Smith says, that we can have no manufactures till our farmers have a surplus produce beyond what is necessary for their maintenance and employment, and they cannot have that surplus except by accident, and for a short time, so long as they are the tenants at will of other people, who, when they find them in possession of the surplus, can appropriate it to themselves, and make them work for their bare maintenance, or in their caprice clear them off altogether. It is plain as any proposition in mathematics that we cannot succeed in manufactures, or even maintain ourselves in our present numbers and position, but must gradually disappear by emigration and decay, till not one of us remains unless we can get some employment, the surplus produce of which we may certainly call our own, and which no man or body of men can take from us. The absolute necessity of such a surplus to national prosperity, is demonstrated by Adam Smith in this fashion :

“ The demand for those who live by wages cannot increase but

in proportion to the increase of funds which are destined to the payment of wages. These funds are of two kinds: first, the revenue which is over and above what is necessary for the maintenance, and secondly, the stock which is over and above what is necessary for the employment of their masters. When the landlord accumulator, or monied man, has a greater revenue than what he judges sufficient to maintain his own family, he employs either the whole or a part of the surplus in maintaining one or more menial servants. Increase this surplus and he will naturally increase the number of those servants. When an independent workman, such as a weaver, or shoemaker, has got more stock than what is sufficient to purchase the materials of his own work, and to maintain himself till he can dispose of it, he naturally employs one or more journeymen with the surplus, in order to make a profit by their work. Increase this surplus, and he will naturally increase the number of his journeymen.

"The demand for those who live by wages, necessarily increases with the increase of the revenue and stock of every country, and cannot possibly increase without it. The increase of revenue and stock is the increase of national wealth. The demand for those who live by wages, therefore, naturally increases with the increase of national wealth, and cannot possibly without. It is not the actual greatness of national wealth, but its continual increase, which occasions a rise in the wages of labour. It is not, accordingly, in the richest countries, but in the most thriving, or in those which are growing rich the fastest, that the wages of labour are highest. England is certainly in the present times a much richer country than any part of North America. The wages of labour, however, are much higher in North America than in any part of England. .... But though North America is not yet so rich as England, it is much more thriving, and advancing with much greater rapidity to the further acquisition of riches. *The most decisive mark of the prosperity of any country is the increase of the number of its inhabitants.*" —B. i. c. 8.

From all this it is clear that without a surplus produce we cannot maintain labourers, and without labourers we cannot have manufactures. Next, therefore, in importance to the food question, and inseparably connected with it, comes the labour question.

Ours is an odd and sad lot. Land and labour are the two great elements of national wealth. The land we keep waste, and the labour we not only give away for nothing, but go to expense in sending it as far as possible from us to the most distant parts of the earth. Has it ever occurred to you, gentle reader, to consider as a cold blooded political economist the value in ready money of our losses in this way?

Man is the most costly and valuable article that can be *raised*, and the increase or decrease of the numbers *raised and kept*, is the most certain mark of national prosperity or decay. No state can be more wretched than that of a country which has its supply of food so nicely adjusted to it, that it must raise a certain amount of inhabitants up to the stage of adults or labourers, and then must part with or give them away for nothing, or send them away at great expense for fear of their starving. Every *adult* whom we send or force away, or starve to death, represents a loss to society compounded of the value of the amount of "surplus produce," clothes, food, fire, &c., and time and labour expended in rearing and educating him, and of the value his labour would prove to society, were it so constituted, as to be able to maintain and employ him profitably. An author skilled in these matters says:—

"The necessary maintenance of four children, it is supposed, may be nearly equal to that of one man. The labour of an able bodied slave, the same author adds, is computed to be worth double his maintenance; and that of the meanest labourer, he thinks, cannot be worth less than that of an able bodied slave."—*Wealth of Nations*, B. 1. c. 8.

The Anglo-Saxons, when they sold each other, seemed to have thought a slave equal in value to four oxen, for the tolls in Lewes market were in this proportion. The Americans, who are now in the habit of dealing in human flesh, estimate every adult arriving on their shores as worth 1000 dollars, or £208 6s. 8d. in the current coin of the realm of England. Our adults must be more valuable than those of most other countries, for it has been found, Sir Robert Kane tells us, by actual experiments at the Universities of Edinburgh and Brussels, weighing them, measuring them, and making them pull at a spring dynamometer, or "strength measure," that of the four races, English, Scotch, Belgians, and Irish, the last are the tallest, strongest, and heaviest.\*

It is not more than two centuries since the garrisons and select parties of the inhabitants of Wexford and Drogheda, were sold to the West Indian Planters, and English cavaliers were sold in market overt in London

---

\* *Industrial Resources*, p. 401.

to the Guinea merchants. Until after the American war, kidnapping for the plantations was a profitable and respectable branch of commerce even in England, and more especially in Bristol—just as till more recently the slave trade itself was. What are the great conquerors of the world but wholesale kidnappers? They put themselves to very great expense, risk and trouble, in order, as Nimrods, to hunt down men and make a profit out of them by means of conscriptions, forced labour, customs, excise, tithes, taxes, rent, &c., &c., not as squatters to claim uninhabited wastes. Russia would not now be involving Europe in a war for Wallachia and Moldavia if those countries were wild wastes. It is the human animals upon them that have given them such value in her eyes, and yet these do not exceed in number the crowds we have forced into exile or starved to death within the last ten years.

If we had been able to sell our “surplus” population for our own profit, they would have fetched their value like any other commodity upon some such estimate as we have suggested. Indeed, if the system of buying and selling *white* men had continued, we should be scarcely in the condition we are in, for the value of the article would be then a known and plainly appreciable quantity, and if we were obliged to rear and give *gratis* to England and her colonies men and women, the exaction would soon produce between the two islands the same sort of feeling which the Lagenian tribute of well-fed oxen, formerly produced between Leinster and Munster. There are two or three of the United States that produce nothing for export but labourers, and if those States had been by some violent or subtle process forced to give them away for nothing, they would have been long since ruined. They are not in this condition; they get in exchange for the human cattle they send away their value in money, or money’s worth, which serves to replenish the land with the conveniences and luxuries it requires, to work the mines, make roads, canals, and harbours, promote manufactures, and otherwise supply the wants of the society, and not permit it to be exhausted by the continual giving away of its most valuable and costly products without obtaining an equivalent. Ireland is “the breeding state” of the British Union, but does not get the money price of its exported labourers.

You were shocked, no doubt, at Swift's proposition, that our poor should fatten and sell their "surplus children" at a year old as food for the landlords and "better classes," on the ground that it would not pay to rear them to the age of fourteen or fifteen, and sell them to the Plantations, as their food and "*rags*" in the meantime would cost more than they would sell for. The folly of rearing them and giving them away, never occurred to him. As an *Economist*, he was quite right. It would be better for the people, *so far as national economical interests are concerned*, not to have any children, or to pay their rent with them as the Dean suggests, than to rear them and give them away to England or America.

It is so long since we have had any dealings as buyers of human flesh, that this view is apt to shock and startle us. While we were managing our own affairs, we were importing labourers from England; since England has had the trouble of managing our affairs for us, we have been exporting labourers to England: in short, the balance of trade has turned against us. Ours was the dearest labour market in western Europe; it is the cheapest.

Adam Smith shows that the colonies of Greece prospered in Italy, France, Sicily, and Asia Minor, merely by having plenty of good land, and liberty to cultivate it for their own benefit. The colonies of Carthage were also very prosperous, and for the same reason. No dispassionate man, on calmly weighing the evidence, can have a doubt that the Milesian colony here was of Carthaginian origin. That the Carthaginians were pre-eminent in agriculture, is proved by the fact of the Roman Senate translating and publishing, for the use of the people, the twenty-eight books presented by them on that subject. Their great attention to mines and fisheries is a matter of historical notoriety. From the earliest period of our annals, since the landing of the Milesians, we appear to have paid great attention to the cultivation of our lands, working of our mines and fisheries, our rivers and seas, and to have had a large foreign trade, and from the beginning of the Christian era to have had a large importation of slaves, which last circumstance shows that this was then the most thriving state on the western coast of Europe, inasmuch as it was the *dearest market for labour*; for slaves, like other

articles of commerce, were then, as now, "bought in the *cheapest*, and sold in the *dearest market*."

Historians differ as to whether it was from Scotland or France St. Patrick was first brought to us as a slave, so that from the frequency of this traffic from those two countries, it is plain that labour was more valuable here than there at least, and that consequently we were in a more thriving condition. Our importation of slaves from England is a matter of historical notoriety. We shall content ourselves with two authorities. Dr. Lingard, the advocate of the Anglo-Saxons, and Gerald, the Welshman, the court scribe of the Normans, and reviler of all our institutions. Dr. Lingard says :

"Before I conclude this subject, it is proper to add that the sale and purchase of slaves publicly prevailed during the whole of the Anglo Saxon period. These unhappy men were sold like cattle in the market, and there is reason to believe that a slave was usually estimated at four times the price of an ox.\* To the importation of foreign slaves no impediment had ever been opposed : the export of native slaves was forbidden under severe penalties. But habit and the pursuit of gain had taught the Northumbrians to bid defiance to all the efforts of the legislature. Like the savages of Africa they are said to have carried off not only their own countrymen, but even their friends and relatives, and to have sold them as slaves in the ports of the continent. The men of Bristol were the last to abandon this nefarious traffic. *Their agents travelled into every part of the country : they were instructed to give the highest price for females in a state of pregnancy, and the slave-ships regularly sailed from that port to Ireland, where they were sure of a ready and a profitable market.*"—History of England, Vol. i. p. 351.

This traffic did not cease with the Norman conquest ; it continued till the Normans came here. Strongbow landed in 1170, and in 1171, the council of Armagh, regarding our buying and keeping English slaves as a national sin, decreed, amongst other things, that all the English slaves in the island should be at once manumitted. Giraldus Cambrensis thus narrates the circumstance, and we translate the passage as literally, baldly, and plainly as we possibly can :

"These things being completed, the clergy of all Ireland being

---

\* "The toll in the market of Lewes was one penny for the sale of an ox : four pennies for that of a slave."—Domesday.



convoked at Armagh, and having treated and deliberated a long time about the arrival of the strangers in the Island; at length, the common opinion of all settled into this, to wit: that for the sins of their people, and especially because they had been long accustomed to buy the English everywhere, as well from merchants as from robbers and pirates, and to reduce them to slavery, this disadvantage happened to them by the censure of the Divine vengeance, that they themselves should now be in turn reduced to slavery by the same nation. For the people of the English, while their kingdom was yet independent, by the common voice of the nation, had been accustomed to expose to sale their children, and before they would suffer any want or hunger, to sell into Ireland their own very sons and relations; whence it can be probably believed that as the sellers formerly, so now the buyers deserved the yoke of slavery by so enormous a crime. It was decreed," &c.\*

Since that time the balance of trade in this respect has been against us. Our Norman masters at once very naturally, and properly, set about making us *produce* for their *consumption*. Of course they would not have come here except to make a profit by us. It is quite ludicrous for us to be angry about it. If they acted otherwise, they would have been violating all the laws of trade and nature. The effect of their little arrangements was simply this:—We were before producing for our own benefit—and we were now made to produce for their benefit. We were to go on producing, but the "surplus" we were not to keep to ourselves as before, but to hand over to them, to consume for us. We were to be the producers, and they the consumers. We were to be the labourers, and they the overseers of the estate; or if the reader does not like

---

\* Lest there may be any mistake we append the original. "His completis convocato apud Ardamachiam totius Hiberniæ clero et super advenarum in insulam adventu tractato diutius et deliberato tandem communis omnium in hoc sententia resedit propter peccata scilicet populi sui eoque præcipue quod Anglos olim tam a mercatoribus quam prædonibus atque piratis emere passim et in servitutem redigere consueverant divinæ censura vindictæ hoc eis incommodum accidisse ut et ipsi quoque ab eadem gente in servitutem vice reciproca jam redigantur. Anglorum namque populus adhuc integro eorum regno, communi gentis vitio, liberos suos venales exponere et priusquam inopiam ullam aut inediam sustinerent filios proprios et cognatos in Hiberniam vendere consueverant, unde et probabiliter credi potest, sicut venditores olim, ita et emptores tam enormi delicto juga servitutis jam meruisse. Decretum est," &c.—Giraldus Cambrensis, c. 28. Hiberniæ Expugnatae."

that phraseology, we were to work on, and they were to rule us, guide us, teach us their theology, (it was they introduced Tithes here,) &c., and in exchange for these mental superfluities, were to take out of the bulk of our material superfluities what *they* considered a fair equivalent. The immediate effect was that we had no longer a surplus of food or a surplus of stock, and consequently the demand for labour ceased, and with it the import of labourers—and as we were obliged to send to England that surplus portion of food and of stock which would have fed and employed an increasing population at home, we were obliged to send this “surplus” population after the “surplus” food and stock. And thus you will find, from the arrival of the Normans, a continual drain of population from this island to England. As, until the reign of James I. these admirable arrangements were confined to a small portion of the island, so this drain was proportionately inconsiderable. In that reign it became so great as to attract the attention of contemporary writers, and especially of his attorney-general here, Sir J. Davis, who says that one particular portion of the system up to that time pursued would have destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub if it had been practised there as long as it had been here. Since that period, and more especially since the Revolution, when the jealousy of English traders forbid us to manufacture our raw materials, this exhaustive process has been actively at work, and we have been sending to England the surplus produce which should feed and employ at home an increasing population, and promote manufactures and commerce, and of necessity sending after it the surplus labourers whom it would have so fed and employed. Just fancy for a moment to what a height of power, prosperity, and greatness this island might have been brought if the millions thus driven out in sorrow and suffering had been detained at home to “increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth,” and to develope its resources for their own good and that of the empire. Or rather lay aside all fancies, and “calculate” like a Yankee:—We have lost since the famine upwards of 3,000,000 of people by emigration or premature death through want of food or the other necessities of life. Take 2,000,000 as adults, throwing in the other million to make certain of having your calculation within the mark, and you have, on the American estimate of 1000 dollars per head, a clear loss to society in this island of £400,000,000

sterling,—just as much as would buy up the whole land of the country at forty years' purchase,—the annual rental, which was some years ago £12,000,000, being now, it is computed, only £10,000,000.

Observe, too, how completely this country illustrates what the Lords in 1698 foretold would be the consequence to England if we were allowed to carry on the woollen manufacture, the subjects leaving here "to settle there," to the increase of their manufactures, "the trade of this nation and the value of lands much decreased," and, above all, "the numbers of your people much lessened here;" in fact, the English manufacturers (for it is they chiefly whom we should blame) have contrived to reduce us to a condition in which we *cannot* carry on manufactures, and *must* give them our raw materials, provisions, and labourers, which we ought to keep at home, and convert into instruments of national wealth and prosperity.

Our people have been led into their odd notions about population by the writers of the country, in whose favour the balance of the trade is running. But these will soon confess its silliness. So long as the drain from this country was just sufficient to fill up the voids in the labour markets of England or her colonies, the system was all right—the very perfection of political devices; but when it goes beyond that extent, and adds to the strength, and wealth, and power of rival states, such as America, it becomes a loss to the empire, and requires to be repressed, and we now and hereby undertake to foretell that before two years more shall have passed over us, the country will be filled with Jeremiads on the subject.

If we want to succeed in manufactures, we must check this drain. Otherwise, we cannot have a cheaper supply of labour than England; for, strange as it may appear, Sir Robert Kane, who has thoroughly investigated the subject, says: "Whether for manufacturing industry in general labour (skilled and unskilled) is cheaper here, is not capable of receiving a decided answer."—p. 402.

This system we cannot check till we secure to the people an employment, in which some part of their earnings will be *certainly* and *permanently* their own—until they have *sure standing-room* on the soil, and until they are so comfortable, that they will have good houses over them, and plenty to eat, drink, and wear, and a "surplus," or

something to spare, until, in fact, the farmer can be described again as one

"Who eats his own ham, his own chicken, and lamb,  
Who shears his own fleece and who wears it."

For this is the natural origin of "the greatest and most profitable commodity of this kingdom," as the woollen trade is described in the memorable 10 W. 3, c. 10. It is ludicrous to think of setting up manufactures for a home market of beggars.

This necessary substratum for manufacturers may be brought about by giving the people Tenant Right. As we have on former occasions laid our views on this subject before our readers, we will not now add a word except to say that the towns have, in truth, though they seem not aware of it, a greater interest in the question than the country, for the farmers may continue to exist without being allowed any "surplus produce," whereas their having it is absolutely essential to the existence of the towns.

The next best means of securing to the people a permanent certain surplus produce is by restoring to them "the free privilege of fishing in the sea," as they enjoyed it two centuries ago, as it is enjoyed by the people of England, Scotland, America, and every country on earth. From the earliest period of our annals till the Restoration, we had a great fishery trade with the South of Europe. In 1653, when England was paying the Dutch for fish caught on her own shores £1,600,000 a year, we were competing with the Dutch in their own markets, and in 1654 the town of Wexford cured more herrings than any town in the empire does now. Since the Restoration every conceivable sort of device has been resorted to in order to ruin our fisheries—and the result is, that our great cod-fishery trade is transferred to Yorkshire—our mackerel and pilchard fishery trade to Devon and Cornwall, and our herring trade to Scotland, and now, while our coasts abound with fish, and our people are starving, we are obliged to pay Great Britain about £150,000 a year for the salt herring, cod, ling, and hake with which we relish our miserable meal of potatoes. Let us just mention *a few, very few* of the Acts of Parliament by which this result has been brought about. From 1734 till 1842 we could not use any sea net on the coasts, bays, harbours, or rivers of Ireland, of less than 3½ inches mesh from knot to knot, for catching any

fish whatever, except herrings, pilchards, sprats, and prawns; so that we could not catch mackerel, bream, gurnet, or any other fish (except those four) that could escape through such a mesh; and in fact, in 1836, when a Commission of Enquiry was appointed, there was not a mackerel net on our coasts, except in a few remoter parts of Kerry. And as if this were not enough, in 1827 another act passed, reciting the above provision, and that certain nets, called trammel nets, were used on the coast of Ireland, of less mesh than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and prohibiting trammel nets of any mesh whatever, except with the license of certain functionaries in Dublin. Our poor fishermen along the coast found trammels useful for catching hake. But we were, and are importing hake in large quantities from Great Britain. From 1758 till 1844 we could not catch a herring with any net whatever in the *day time*, on any part of the coast, and cannot even now do so with any net but a seine net, which is used only when the fish is seen in fine weather on the surface of the water. From 1778 till 1842 we could not cure our nets, as formerly, with oak bark, but should cure them with TAR AND OIL; so that, as it was actually proved before the Commission of 1836, we could not catch one-third as much as the Englishmen who came to fish on our coasts with nets cured with oak bark; and the TAR AND OIL tainted the fish, and so burned the fine twine of the nets, that our nets could not last more than a year or two, while the nets of our English rivals lasted twelve or thirteen years. Just fancy in the year of light, 1842, an Act of Parliament passed to prohibit us from leaving a trammel net or any other net, except stake nets for salmon or drift, or seine nets for pilchards in the water between sunrise and sunset, and forfeiting them and £10, if, having set them after sunset, you do not take them up before sunrise, or using a trawl-net (the sort of net with which one-third of all the fish brought to Billingsgate market are taken) at any part of the coast prohibited by the commissioners of fisheries, or any net at or across the mouth of a bay or estuary contrary to the orders of the said commissioners, or fishing within half a mile in any direction of an *undefined* several fishery in any estuary (5 and 6 Vict. 106); or another Act in 1848, dividing Ireland and the sea-coasts and islands into seventeen different districts, and providing that no man shall catch a salmon, salmon-trout, eel, or pollen with a net in

any district without first paying a license fee, varying from 15s. to £5, according to the effectiveness of his net in *every* district in which he wishes to fish, and into which his boat is drifted. Under these laws we import fish from Great Britain, and our fishermen are flying from the country in thousands. This drain we ought to stop; and it can be done only by freeing our fishermen from these and the numerous other odd restrictions on their industry.

The Dutch were said to make in the height of their prosperity £20,000,000 a year by the fisheries pursued on the English coasts. Our coasts are equally well supplied with fish. Before the Commission of 1836 it was said that there were as much fish between Achill and Galway as would feed all Ireland.

The fisheries would be the best possible means of promoting manufactures. The Dutch, by their fisheries, were said to have had more ships than Portugal, France, Spain, England, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden together, and their herring-fishery alone was said, two centuries ago, to be worth more than "all the manufactures and commerce of England apart," "all the manufactures of France apart," and "all the manufactures and plate of Spain apart." One of the pamphlets on the subject exhausts all the letters of the alphabet in describing the various trades and handicrafts which the fisheries created or employed. They would, beyond all question, lead at once to the extension of manufactures as a necessary consequence. But they are of themselves of far greater importance to us. As Arthur Young says: "No trade or manufactures can be of half the consequence to Ireland that many of her fisheries would prove, if encouraged with judgment." Above all, they would form a domain for the people in which, as the Rev. Mr. Duggan, on behalf of the fishermen of the Shannon said before the Commission of 1836, their "profits and improvements would not be liable to deductions on the score of rent."

The fisheries in addition to supplying us with food of our own taking, for our own use, and perhaps several millions worth for sale abroad, would also promote manufactures by supplying us with seamen, and pilots, and ships to take our goods to the dearest, and bring us goods from the cheapest markets. We can never compete with the English manufacturers, until we have shipping enough for our own purposes. Of the 17,819 vessels, and 177,982 seamen en-



gaged in the home and foreign trade of the united kingdom on the 31st of December, 1852, only 2178 vessels, and 13,902 men belonged to Irish ports.

The value of the fisheries as a means of promoting manufactures is thus well put by Lord Sheffield in his "Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland." London: 1785:—

"Notwithstanding the present insignificant state of the Irish fisheries, it may reasonably be expected that in due time they will, among articles of trade, rank at least third in point of national profit, and immediately follow the linen and provision trade. In point of general advantage they might perhaps rank first by the great extension they may cause of the Navigation of Ireland..... The establishment of the fisheries of Ireland will of course promote ship-building and greatly extend navigation. Her manufactures will be carried cheaper, and in a manner forced into countries where they now either do not go or go under disadvantages: for nothing can be more certain than that those nations which have much of the carrying trade, derive many benefits from it more than the profits of freight, which however is considerable. It is needless to state the number of artificers employed in ship-building, and the many trades dependent on it: *but the fisheries are the first and best foundations of a marine.* It is the first stage: and if the country does not furnish freight for a quantity of shipping, the fisheries will help to provide it for them."—p. 151.

It will be said that as the Scotch are now in possession of the market, and can sell as cheaply as we, they will keep us out of our own markets. But this is not true. They may sell as cheaply at our seaports, but they cannot sell as cheaply at our inland towns, if we conduct the fishery from those towns. The system hitherto pursued of conducting the fishery from little piers and harbours on the sea coast is quite a mistake. For, first of all, those harbours are the dearest places to build, or make, or repair boats, nets, sails, &c., as there are few tradesmen, and little competition. Next, in such harbours, vessels are liable to such injuries from the ebbing and flowing of the tides and storms, &c., that no large vessels can be safely left there. The average cost of a boat is £10 per ton, and the average size twenty-five tons. Who would leave such a boat in such harbours? Yet without large vessels you cannot cure the herrings as the Dutch do, the moment they are taken on board, and cannot use the trawl-nets, with which alone you can take *cheaply* turbot, soles, flounders, and

other flat fish. Next, when you have the fish at those remote points of the sea-coast, you must send them to the inland markets by land, which is the dearest mode of conveyance, or re-ship them, which is another source of dear-ness. Whereas, if you fish from the inland towns, on our navigable lakes or rivers, you bring by the *cheapest* conveyance the fish fresh and without injury from land carriage or re-shipment to the inland market, which is the *dearest*. What you cannot sell fresh is bought up and cured ; and the very offal becomes a valuable guano for increasing your profit, and fertilising the neighbouring land. Again, we have other elements of cheapness which the Scotch have not. The herrings come close in-shore with us, and are always certain on our north-west coast. We are nearer the Spanish and Portuguese markets for carrying the fish to them, and bringing home their salt, without which it is impossible to cure well. No other salt was anciently used here, or is now allowed to be used in Holland. Next, we can keep our vessels cheaper on our rivers and lakes—and the value of this is forcibly illustrated by Yarranton, who, in pointing out as the cause of the success of the Dutch and the failure of the English the fact that “we fish intolerably dear, and they exceedingly cheap,” says, first, they build cheaply, i. e., without duties on timber, iron, and ship-chandlery, &c., and in large inland cities. Next, when the buss is built, they take care to preserve it from all storms and bruises whilst it lies at home in harbour, and therefore they have cut rivers and channels for its quiet repose, which requires not the charge of cable or anchor, or of any person to look to it when not employed in fishing.”

One of the chief causes of the success of the Dutch was their making cut rivers navigable in all places where art can possibly effect it, and thereby making trade more communicable and easy than in other places,” and having so many inland seas, lakes, and rivers, not only to keep the vessels cheaply, but to convey their merchandize cheaply. If you look to the map of Ireland, you will find that nature has specially favoured us in this respect, if we only aided her a little. Thus she seems to have intended the Bann and Lough Neagh as a wet dock and canal for our northern and north-eastern fisheries, Lough Erne for those of Donegal (Enniskillen would be an Amsterdam if it had been inhabited by any people who were subject to no arti-

ficial restriction on their natural resources) Loughs Corrib, and Mask for those of Galway, Lough Derg and the Shannon, and the chains of lakes connected with them for the south-western fisheries, and Killarney, the Cove, the Blackwater, Suir, Barrow, Slaney, Liffey, and Boyne for those of the south and east. If we were to conduct the fisheries from the inland towns on these lakes and rivers, and their tributaries, we must be able, in the course of half-a-dozen years, to undersell in those markets any competitors—and what Yarranton, two centuries ago, said of the Dutch, will now apply to the Scotch:—

“ Cheapness is one of the most essential parts of trade, and as he that can sell a commodity cheapest shall certainly have the trade of that commodity, so because the Dutch fish cheaper than we now, and therefore can sell cheaper, they consequently have the trade of the fishery, and by the same reason, when we are able to fish cheaper than they, we shall carry away the fishing trade from them also, for the trade must necessarily be there where it is carried on cheapest.”—p. 131.

But we shall be met with the objection that a society of London tradesmen has blocked up the Bann along which the Danes sailed in the eighth century to devastate the neighbourhood of Lough Neagh,—that an English nobleman has “hermetically sealed”\* the Blackwater which was navigable to Mallow when the royal troops first besieged that town in the reign of Elizabeth—that an English gentleman from Preston blocks up the Galway river, the Corporation of Limerick the Shannon, and that in short almost every navigable river in the country is rendered impassable by virtue of modern grants from the Crown or *Scotch weirs* under the 5 & 6 Victoria, c. 106. We know that. But all these rights or pretended rights were valued by the proprietors thereof in 1849, at only £12,366, and therefore if an effort were made, it is possible that the Parliament might allow those claims to be bought up for the public good, and these rivers to be thrown open again as they were, when we were importing labourers from England, and we had the advantage of being under the Brehon laws, which most strictly forbid the erection of any obstructions to the passage of navigable rivers.

---

\* See the Evidence of Mr. Dillon Croker before the Committee on Irish Fisheries in 1849.

The Dutch, we are told, had some other elements of cheapness which we have not now, "easy ports in point of customs;" a lumber house for getting credit on goods; a register "whereby the owner can get advances on the credit of the brigs and tackling;" good rules for the curing of herrings; "sufficient guards whilst they are laboriously drawing up into their ships the riches of the sea;" a court of merchants "to end all differences by men of their own trade, that it may be concluded with quickness and small charge;" and a law of limited partnership whereby the fisherman "who has need of a little money to mend or buy some nets, or some provisions for his voyage," can "draw in a partner;"\* and "every man and maid-servant having any poor stock may venture the same in their fishing voyages which afford them ordinarily great increase, and is duly paid according to the proportion of their gain."†

The opening up of the navigation of our rivers and lakes would be another great element of cheapness towards the prosecution of manufactures. The value of this mode of communication was well known to our Carthaginian, or Phœnician, or Milesian, forefathers; for so early as the sixth century, when it is supposed that religious houses began to erect weirs across rivers for the purpose of securing a supply of fresh fish, provisions were introduced into the Brehon Laws prohibiting such erections;‡ and it is a curious confirmation of the traditional reverence for those laws which prevailed to the last moment in the country, that there is no trace of a weir across any river while it was in the hands of the native inhabitants; and even now the rivers chiefly obstructed with weirs are those of the Pale, the Boyne, Liffey, Barrow, Suir and Nore, or of the districts granted to English companies, or other foreign settlers, as the Bann, Blackwater, &c., &c. The English in England are aware of the importance of water communication, and the English common law is as opposed as the Brehon Law to obstructions to navigable rivers. In England no

---

\* Yarranton.

† Sir John Burroughes.

‡ We state this on the authority of that most learned antiquarian, Mr. Curry, one of the commissioners for collating and translating the Brehon Laws.

expense is spared for the purpose of making canals, and improving the navigation of rivers. In 1698 the manufacturers of the West Riding of Yorkshire (for they were the principal movers in the matter,) were not content with preventing us from manufacturing our wool in competition with them, but also took pains to improve their river navigation, and in the preamble to the 10 W. III. c 25, which is to be found within a few pages of that most ruinous chapter 10, they state :

"Whereas the making and keeping of the rivers of Aire and Calder in the County of York navigable and passable with boats, barges, lighters, and other vessels from a place called Weeland, situate upon the river Aire, up to the towns of Leeds and Wakefield, in the West Riding of the County of York, will not only be a great advancement of the clothing trade of the said County, but likewise for a public good, by advancing the trade and commerce of market towns, and all other places situate near the said rivers, and the increase of watermen and the extraordinary preservation of the highways."

Sir Robert Kane says :

"The expenses of land carriage is so considerable even on the best roads as to present material obstacles to the extension of commercial intercourse. It may be estimated for general goods throughout the country at 6d. per ton per mile. Whilst water carriage, including all expenses of freight tolls, &c., never exceeds 2½d. The most important reduction in the cost of transport is made by the substitution of water for land carriage. For this Ireland is peculiarly fitted, the extent of her principal rivers, and the number and magnitude of her lakes presenting natural means of communication such as are seldom equalled, and the structure of the central country affording facilities for the construction of canals not easily surpassed."

An additional element of cheapness would be the making of more railways and canals. We cannot compete with England at present in this respect, but might make some advances if we could avoid the enormous preliminary expenses attendant upon the inquiries before Parliamentary Committees. This might be done by enabling the grand juries, or some equivalent local boards, to make railways and canals as they are now enabled to make common highways—or by imitating the American system of passing short Bills for making them from point A to B, and naming, or authorizing the government to name, commissioners who would be sworn to mark out the lines "in such manner as in their judgment will be best for the share-

holders and the public," and settling on the spot by means of a jury all questions of compensation, &c., that may happen to arise.

The common roads may be made *cheaper* by adopting the English system of giving the rated inhabitants of each locality the entire controul and management of them. We now waste, through grand jury jobbing, upwards of £500,000 a year on roads and bridges. There is in this sum a large margin for cheapness.

Much is said about the necessity of introducing English capital—but that is a fallacy. If we import foreign capital, the owner of that capital would reap the fruits which should reward native labour. We have capital enough in the country for all reasonable mercantile adventures, and it might be made available and cheap, if the farmers, shopkeepers, professional, mercantile, and other classes, who have money lying idle by them, could be enabled to embark it safely in commerce, without risking the loss of more than they actually embark, or, as Lord Eldon said, imperilling their "last shilling and last acre," by assimilating our partnership laws to those of America, France, Holland, Italy, and every commercial state in the world except England, and as some fancy to those of England as they formerly stood, and thus "wedding capital to labour." This could be done by an amendment of the Anonymous Partnership Act, passed at the dawn of our Free Trade policy in 1782, removing the few defects in that statute which have defeated the object of its framers.

Coal and iron and other metals cannot be as cheap here as in England, till we return to the laws that anciently prevailed here, and now prevail in the ancient mining districts of England, and in every country on the continent of Europe. We once before called attention to the fact, that more of our mines were worked before, than have been worked since, the Norman invasion; and that the surface workings of our ancient mines were precisely the same as those of Cornwall, and that the law of Cornwall is, that any adventurer may enter on a mining waste and mark out a certain portion, and register his claim in the Stannary Court, and may securely work away without further inquiry as to title, so long as he pays one-fifteenth of the produce to the owner of the surface for the time being. Under such a law as this our mines were anciently worked, and our island was famed for its "veiny silver and



its golden ore." But by one of the devices of Norman barbarism it was made a capital felony here in the reign of Henry VII., to "multiply gold or silver," i. e., to work gold or silver mines, or otherwise increase the quantity; and this remained the law till the reign of Queen Anne. James II. made a grant of all the mines in the island to the Earl of Albemarle, and this also remained in force till the reign of Anne, when the mines were all transferred to the landlords. At the common law the Crown could authorise any subject to enter upon and work a mine containing any portion of gold or silver; and so such mines might by possibility be worked. But when they were transferred to the landlords, and these were subject to entails or incumbrances, they could not by any possibility be worked, for the landlords could not work them themselves or allow another to do so, because that would be, in the legal language of the barbarians, "*waste*." Thereupon an Act of Parliament was passed to allow a landlord to give a lease of a mine for a certain number of years, reserving a certain portion of the produce. It was soon found that the number of years was too little, and the portion of produce too great; and thereupon in the course of years another Act of Parliament was passed, slightly extending the leasing power of the landlords, but again it was insufficient. And at this present instant there is a Bill before Parliament to give a little more liberty to a landlord to get at, or to enable others to get at, the mines under his land. In the meantime all this paltry peddling has prevented the working of our mines, and has made coal, iron, tin, copper, &c., *dear* here, while they have been *cheap* in England. The remedy is obvious. Return to the simplicity and wisdom of the Brehon Law, and replace the mines of Ireland on a level with those of Cornwall, and of every other civilized country of the world, ancient and modern.

A full development of all the natural resources of the land is essential to *cheapness*. All the statutes restricting its alienation should be therefore abolished. It should be made easily saleable as in the United States for public taxes or private debts. The Crown lands should be sold or let in perpetuity on corn rents. The perpetuity of tenure conceded to the immediate tenants of church and college lands should be conceded also to the occupying tenants. Other Corporation lands should be dealt with in

like manner. All the statutes imposing duties on Beet-root sugar—on the conversion of corn, or fruit, or vegetables into spirit, malt, or anything else, which chemical ingenuity may devise, or prohibiting the growth of tobacco, or otherwise howsoever restricting the industry of the agriculturist should be abolished, and in lieu of these a uniform land tax should be imposed on all lands, with a summary power of sale for non-payment, so as to force our wastes into profitable cultivation. The protective duties on manufactures should be abolished, so that the farmer may be as free as the manufacturer to buy in the cheapest market. As production is at least as important to society as barter, tillage should be as free as trade, and the tiller as secure of enjoying the fruits of his industry as any other producer. In short, if you can, abolish Excise and Customs and all the special contrivances devised since 1172 for depriving industry of its freedom of production and exchange, and the fruit of its labour. By reverting, as far as we conveniently can, to the policy pursued up to that period, we may so alter the relative condition of the two countries that Englishmen may again send their children to labour here, “*before they should suffer any want or hunger at home*; at the least we shall be able to secure that *plenty and cheapness of all necessaries of life and materials of manufacture*, which so alarmed our English rivals in 1698, and thus supply the only certain element of commercial success—and raise this island from being the Pariah of the nations to the condition in which it was for ages, the most thriving state in Western Europe, and keep our people happy, comfortable, and independent at home, instead of sending them to wander over the earth, pennyless, homeless, friendless, beggars, and outcasts, the scoff and scorn of the world.

ART. VI.—*All for Jesus, or the Easy Ways of Divine Love.* By FREDERICK WILLIAM FABER, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. London, Dublin, and Derby; Richardson and Son. 1854.

FATHER FABER'S work is one of the few in our time, whose merits are testified by acclamation. It seems to have touched some chord in the public mind, or, as we should rather say, in the public heart, and to have found, in many places at once, a distinct and sympathetic response. There has been no hanging back in opinion, till notes were compared and criticisms exchanged, till the men of mark, the "Sir-Oracles" of the day, had nodded their assent, or the organs of the public voice had sounded their applause. The testimony in its favour has been as precise as if it had been formal, and as general as if it had been concerted. The most dispassionate students have been compelled to approach it with a bias created by its popularity, and the most vigilant critics, to tread laggingly on the heels of its reputation. The latter of these necessities, indeed, must plead the apology for our own tardy movements in this rushing tide. The conditions of our quarterly appearance are not, it must be confessed, friendly to the criticism of works like this. Our monthly contemporaries keep their batteries constantly charged, and are always ready for an emergency. Rapid indeed must be the rise or the fall of the work which they cannot herald by their salutes, or damage by their broadsides! But we, whose powers of criticism lie dormant for three long months, may find ourselves distanced, as in this case, by the success of a very popular work. Our lingering review may have to come before the public with the lateness of an echo, rather than the promptitude of a signal. No doubt, like other conditions, ours has its advantages as well as its drawbacks. If it preclude the timely notice of an accepted work, it also prevents the hasty criticism of a doubtful one. But there are some duties which lose their obligations if not performed in time; and we must admit that the time for reviewing Father Faber's book is well nigh past. And yet it comes before us that, as there are persons whom it is a discredit not to know, so there are works which it is a discredit not to notice. Whether our

Review can dispense with the omission, as well as Father Faber's work, is a question which at any rate suggests the propriety even of a late notice of it, on grounds which are altogether independent of the work itself.

In an age, like our own, so advanced and so fastidious, in which little new on any subject remains to be said, and less than any on the subject of theology, it is, we repeat, a remarkable fact when any book, and especially one of a theological character, commands so general and hearty an expression of favour as that which has been accorded to the one before us. It is especially remarkable, we repeat, when such book is on a subject where novelty, in a certain sense, is a grave, or at any rate, a *primâ facie*, objection, and where all novelty is a watchword of suspicion. The temper of the age in this matter is apt to react upon authorship; the "safe" is preferred to the "original," and writers, especially on theology and its kindred subjects, prefer aiming at blameless moderation, to risking the charge of rashness. The effect is, that we have many works, excellent in their way, but which do not seem to rivet attention, or elicit enthusiastic praise. Now, a writer who, like Father Faber, strikes out a bolder line, not merely invests ordinary subjects, (as none can do better,) with the charm of glowing and poetic representation, but puts forth a view of spirituals which in some degree conflicts with the theories of existing writers, (and they not obscure,) we must say that he richly earns the reward which Father Faber has reaped, in the sympathy and acquiescence of so large a proportion of the religious public. Success ever merits a higher tribute, when failure would have entailed a more serious penalty.

The remarkable success of such a work as this, especially as contrasted with the comparative failure of so many others of the same class, naturally suggests the attempt to discover what, on the one hand, is that prevalent instinct in the English Catholic mind, which it has availed to address and arouse, and what, on the other, is that especial characteristic in itself, by which this instinct has been met and elicited. The enquiry is, at any rate, an interesting and important problem; and one which we may be well satisfied to open, even if we fail to solve it. To what then is to be attributed the popularity of this above other works of the same distinguished author, or, as we may even say, above most devotional and ascetical

books of our time? We will hazard a reply to this question. The point to which, as to a centre, it seeks to gather all devotion, and on which, as on a pivot, it makes all self-discipline to turn, is—the Love of Our Divine Redeemer under that Name of names, that Name of power and sweetness, which is the pledge of His love, because it is the memorial of His Incarnation—JESUS. This attribute of Father Faber's work, and not its simple eloquence, or its poetic grace, or its power of illustration, we take to be the talisman of its success. No doubt its felicity as a composition has tended to win a way into many hearts for its material subject; but, is the particular *sentiment* which it has succeeded in drawing out, one, we would ask, which can be adequately described as a mere tribute to these, (comparatively), superficial qualities? In a word, could that sentiment be sufficiently denoted by the term *admiration*, apart from the ideas of *consolation* and *instruction*? One, for instance, writes, that, in Father Faber's Treatise, thoughts hitherto latent and indefinite in his mind, seemed to find their form, elucidation, and expression; another, that it had opened to him new views of duty and new trains of devotion; another, that it had revealed hitherto unknown defects of character, and so on; while many who have contented themselves with describing it, in more general terms, as a "beautiful," or "delightful" book, have certainly intended by these epithets to denote a great deal more than the pleasure which they might feel in a volume of poetry or a brilliant exhibition of eloquence. But even should they have meant no more than to express their real *interest* in the work, even this, it must be admitted, is no common gain to have been secured by a treatise on a simply religious subject.

But we are disposed to trace these sentiments to some deeper spring, and to refer them to some cause, more adequate to their intensity, their prevalence and their coincidence. We suspect that there is in the mind of the religious English, (we are far from referring to Catholics alone,) what we have just called an *instinct* of affection to our Blessed Lord, which creates an *attrait* towards any teacher, or any teaching, which makes this the cardinal point of all sentimental and practical religion. To the existence of such an instinct, (overlaid although it be by the thick crust of heretical pravity and national pride,) there are other attestations besides that which the success of Father Faber's

work may be thought to constitute. What but such a testimony is the popularity of the more zealous Dissenters in England at the close of the last century, compared with the total failure of the Establishment at the same period, in gaining a hold upon the public mind? Let us consider, again the rapid and unprecedented sale of "Wilberforce's Practical View of Christianity,"—a work which, whatever its grave theological errors, contained the most fervent, and evidently the most heartfelt appeals to such as "love our Lord Jesus in sincerity?" The popularity, too, of that great party in the Establishment of which Wilberforce and his clerical coadjutors were, in some measure, the founders, is some evidence to the same point. And, in an opposite direction, the same fact is proved by the annihilation, or tendency towards annihilation, of the school in the same communion, which set up the cry of "enthusiasm" against all those who tried to build their practical system upon the foundation of love. We can remember the days when the Most Holy Name itself was by this party proscribed from religious compositions as a fanatical watchword! The earlier Tractarians, and especially Dr. Pusey, deserved great credit for rescuing the more affectionate side of religion from the stigma of extravagance. Even Mr. Keble, who belongs to rather an opposite school, created an extensive sympathy by his *Christian Year*, and especially by those parts of it which addressed themselves to the spirit of *Christian love*. The result, in the Establishment, has been what may be called a kind of religious *thaw*, in which the great high-church ice-berg has been broken up, and part has drifted hither and part thither, but all is in process of dissolution, and in prospect of amalgamation with some less rigid element. Love without orthodoxy is going off to the Unitarians, and love with orthodoxy is tending towards the Church, and the few who still denounce enthusiasm and will not love, are left standing in the midst, like so many frozen columns without an object or a destination. The English mind is in favour of an enthusiastic religion, when it is in favour of any. Its proverbial common sense tells it that, religion being what it professes to be, the wildest fanaticism, as Dr. Paley himself says, is a more sensible alternative than coldness and indifference. Again, Christianity has disseminated throughout the world, and even in countries which, like our own, have cast aside all but its exter-



nal profession, an unconquerable impression that its own Divine Author and Founder is the Object of gratitude, and all the other sentiments of tender and loyal affection, in a way and to an extent, which leaves no middle course between denying His prerogative and leaving Him without a rival in His empire over the heart. The very jealousy of "idolatry," which is, perhaps, among all the *theoretical* difficulties in the way of the Church, the most prevalent and the most formidable, at least in England, bears witness to the same instinct; nay, and we will add, must be sifted before it be unequivocally condemned. Were the devotion to our Blessed Lady really what Protestants often suppose it to be—did it involve, as is alleged, the infringement, in however remote a degree, of our Divine Redeemer's claim upon our supreme worship and affection, it would, of course, be a most legitimate argument against us, while even sensitiveness upon such a point, so far as it is a real apprehension, and not a mere telling topic of controversy, deserves our tenderest consideration and our most respectful deference.

Neither will we disguise our opinion, that a work, (such as Father Faber's) the whole scope of which, as its very title imports, is to set forth our Blessed Redeemer as the central point of all theology, and the congeries of devotion to Him as the focus to which every faculty of the human mind should be directed, was a *desideratum* in our religious literature well worthy of being supplied. Not, of course, that an earnest and consistent Catholic could, even by possibility, be in danger of forgetting that Jesus is all in all; but that there was a call for a work in which the relation of other parts of the Catholic system to our Blessed Lord should be pointed out, not in a technical, or merely theological, but in a popular and affecting way. The establishment, at the London Oratory, of the Confraternity of the Most Precious Blood, suggested to Father Faber a natural and convenient method of enlisting popular sympathies in such a cause. "Respicientes in Jesum"—these words are the very motto of Catholics. With the Daily Sacrifice on our altars, with the Blessed Eucharist for our characteristic privilege, with the Sign of the Cross for our customary defence, and the Image of the Crucified for our universal symbol, with the Passion, the Blessed Sacrament, the Divine Infancy, and the Adorable Heart, as the subjects of our most prevailing

Devotions, and the bond of our principal Confraternities, with Christmas and Easter as our cardinal Feasts, and the "Angelus Domini" as our daily memorial of the Incarnation, how it can ever be said of us without shame, or believed of us without folly, that the Saviour of the world is ignored, or forgotten, or set aside, in the Catholic Church, is a phenomenon than which we know absolutely no more astounding proof of the fatuity and obduracy of heretical prejudice. Yet this fact does not lessen our gratitude to Father Faber for having brought out this great truth in an explicit shape, and shown, not controversially, but practically and devotionally, that even (or as we may rather say, especially) the love of Mary, which is thought to have a tendency to outrun its kindred affection, is a main condition of furthering the glory and advancing the "interests" of the Divine Son. Now it is because English Christians, of the more thoughtful sort, desire, in their heart of hearts, to find scope for the love of their Redeemer, and because this work refers all to Him, that the appetite and the satisfaction, the cry and the response, have coincided and been found "double of one another."

So much for a general account of the work in its devotional aspect. Now, for its ascetical; which, as we think, supplies a further clue towards the solution of our problem. As, then, there is a large class of Catholics whose devotional aspirations will be met by a work like Father Faber's, so likewise, as we apprehend, there is also a large class, generally, perhaps, identical with the former, who, amid many excellent manuals which are in circulation, look out for a Treatise, which, without being strictly theological, and without superseding the work of personal direction, shall supply them with certain great *principles* of spiritual conduct, to which they may be able to refer the several actions of the day. These persons are full, on the one hand, of good and elevated intentions; they are captivated with the examples of the Saints; they would themselves be Saints, if they could. But they are ineffably conscious of their own meanness and weakness, their many falls, and the miserable inadequacy even of their best efforts to their standard and their aims. They light, perhaps, on spiritual books which depress, instead of consoling, them. These books seem to make austerities to which they feel themselves physically unequal, the almost

necessary condition of sanctity; they take fright at the view, and sink into pusillanimity of spirit. Then, perhaps, they close, once for all, with a lower grade of spirituality; they abandon self-discipline because they have not the courage for great mortifications: they drop meditation, because they cannot practise it just in the way which some writers prescribe; and ten to one but ere long, they find themselves on a lower level still, and degenerate into a state of habitual tepidity, or something worse. And yet, perhaps, after all, the cause of their depression, and the origin of their decline was, some idiosyncrasy which needed but a discriminating eye to detect, and a considerate spirit to deal with it; some flaw of constitution, or some peculiarity of temperament, which insulated them in the midst of their fellows, and called clamorously for a distinctive treatment; or some (it might be) mere bodily infirmity, which incapacitated them, without fault of their own, for the rigours of a severer rule. The personal director of this most tender class of subjects needs to be the "one of a thousand;" the treatise in which their wants should be consulted perhaps hardly existed till the appearance of Father Faber's volume. There are physicians whose chief practice is among acute or chronic diseases. There are others again whose *forte* lies in the line of *ailments*. Now Father Faber is eminently the spiritual physician of the latter class of patients. There needs, he says in one place, a theology for *invalids*; and, although he is speaking of those who are such in the common acceptance of the term, he might well extend the remark to such as are of a weak and sickly spiritual frame, and want to be supplied with the means of such health and vigour as their condition admits.

For the whole class to which these descriptions apply, Father Faber has furnished invaluable rules of guidance. Instead of embarrassing them with precepts, he has given them a few simple *principles* of far deeper seat, and far wider application. He has selected, for their direction, from the characters of the blessed Saints, those features which they had in common, as distinguished from those which they had as individuals; and he finds that in these common characteristics of sanctity there is nothing formidable to the most timid, and nothing impracticable by the most disadvantageously circumstanced Christian. The common characteristics of sanctity are: 1, Eagerness

for the glory of God. 2, Sensitiveness to the interests of Jesus. 3, Anxiety for the salvation of souls.—p. 31. These three dispositions, according to the measure in which they are perfected, will provide the Christian with a motive for every action, and a touchstone of every event. Each day of his life will suggest opportunities enough to excite and sharpen them. As self-interest is the *measure* of the monied man's views, self-gratification of those of the voluptuary, or self-aggrandizement of the ambitious, so will these three great objects form to the Christian the ruling principles of his whole character.

There is another feature of Father Faber's work, in its ascetical point of view, which has made it acceptable to a large class of earnest Catholics; we mean what may be called the generosity of its spirit. This quality is the effect of its dealing less with details than with their principles; but it meets the requirements of a class yet larger than the last named, although including it. We mean the body of the *scrupulous*, which we suspect to be larger than is commonly supposed. We are inclined to believe that there are very few *earnest* Catholics indeed who are not more or less in danger of this most serious defect; at any rate one class there is who are anything but free from this danger, and that is—the lax. The phenomenon to which the words of our Blessed Lord point, "straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel," is of the commonest occurrence; and it is because scrupulousness is so subtle, that it is so dangerous. Now, though laxity is far from being opposed to scrupulosity, (so far, indeed, that it is much rather its coincident temper,) what we have called generosity of spirit, or a certain largeness of mind, and of heart, is the remedy of scrupulosity and of laxity as well. It often wears, indeed, to superficial observers, the *appearance* of laxity; but they who know its workings more intimately, know that, so far from being the spring of laxity, it is the secret of conscientiousness.

What we mean by the scrupulosity of which this generosity is the remedy, or rather the panacea, will be evident from instances. There are persons, and they anything but remarkable for real strictness, who go about all their duties in a petty and haggling spirit. Their object is to save their souls at the smallest expense, and their dealings with God to take the form of a perpetual bargain. Their spiritual state is like a thing run up by contract with

mighty show, and flimsy and attenuated proportions. Moreover, they live in mortal fright of offending God in little things; so much so, that they offend Him in great ones quite by accident. They remind one of a man who gets run over in the road while he is picking up pebbles. The Eye which they feel to be upon them is an Eye, not of tender and indulgent compassion, but of narrow suspicion; the eye, not of the parent, but of the pedagogue, or a slave-master. It would be easy to illustrate this class of characters by example; but we forbear under an apprehension of being misunderstood, and so of bringing *real* watchfulness of conscience into discredit.

The quality of the spiritual life which this excellently well-intentioned, but misguided class of Christians require, is—generosity. They need to regard their relation with God less in the light of a compact, and more in that of an “understanding,” in which the mutual affection of the parties is a better security for a successful issue than legal stipulations. At any rate, if *they* do not choose to deal with their Benefactor on these terms, it is the only principle on which He will deal with them. Love will continue to be the motive of His contributions and the rule of His dealings, though fear be still the restraint upon their service. The Church, in a collect which at the present moment is said daily at Mass, describes that service as an *empire*, (“Cui servire, regnare, est.”) If there be one thing in the world more unlike an empire than another, it is a *bondage*. In considering the true character of the Christian state, one sees what it is that St. Paul means when, throughout his epistles, he so earnestly contends against the merely legal view of the Gospel; and again, what it is that the poor “Evangelicals” are driving at, when they lay so much stress upon the *freedom* of the Christian service. They have picked up a right idea of the matter, but, wanting the faith, they flounder about in the mud of heretical confusion while attempting to secure it. Hence the “law of liberty,” which they try to substitute for the “law of ordinances,” is no more like the “service of perfect freedom,” or rather the empire of loving obedience, than the mixture of servile restraint and unhallowed license which marks the play-time in a union work-house, or makes up the liberty of a debtors’ prison, is like the delegated lordship of creation, and the condi-

tional liberty of a loyal and loving fealty, which formed the law of the Primitive State.

To supply his subjects with such thoughts on God's infinite goodness in Nature and in Grace, as may serve at once for the checks of servile dread, and the incentives of habitual gratitude, seems to be the greatest boon which a director can confer, where dangers lie in the direction of tepidity, or scrupulosity, or both at once. To encourage those practices of the Church, which, like the Devotion to the Passion, the Blessed Sacrament, the Precious Blood, or the Sacred Heart, tend to familiarize the mind with the immensity of Jesus' love to unworthy and unthankful sinners, seems to be of all others the way to elevate the pusillanimous, to ennoble the low, to enkindle the lukewarm, and to encourage the timid. And one secret of Father Faber's success, whether as a confessor, or as a spiritual writer, we suspect to lie in the earnestness with which he insists on such topics. What is called "purity of intention," or in Gospel language the "single eye," is the object at which he aims, and with a view to which he insists so strongly upon making the *glory of God* and the *interests of Jesus*, the ruling motives of action. The subjects of the different chapters of Father Faber's work, are sufficiently characteristic of its general purport. "The Interests of Jesus," "Sympathy with Jesus," "Love wounded by Sin," "Intercessory Prayer," "The Riches of our Poverty," "Praise and Desire," "Thanksgiving," and lastly, "Purgatory," express the various results of that state of habitual affection towards our Blessed Lord, which is denoted in the Scriptural phrase "Looking to Jesus," that is to say, making Him and His cause, and His friends, the objects of our care to the exclusion even of the highest *personal* interests; proposing the glory of the Eternal Trinity, and the exaltation of the Eternal Son, as motives anterior even to the salvation of our souls, although of course inclusive of it. In this estimate, *sin* will be regarded less as it involves the ruin of man, than as it derogates from the honour of God; thanksgiving will be a higher act than prayer, as it contains no admixture of selfishness; intercessory will be the highest of all kinds of prayer, because it most consults the "interests of Jesus," and the souls in Purgatory will be, peculiarly, the objects of intercession, because their union with Jesus is secure, and admits of being indefinitely accelerated in its perfection, by the aid



of their brethren on earth. In short, the Christian, as Father Faber conceives of him, will go about all things with what is commonly called "an eye" for the glory of God, and the interests of our Divine Redeemer; he will lose no opportunity of energizing in the habit of this disposition, till it is matured into an instinct, which in turn will become the measure of all around. Thus he will become what the world calls "a man of one idea," and pursue his "hobby" with the same ardour, the same simplicity, and the same recklessness of consequences, with which the soldier courts glory, or the merchant toils for gain. And the obvious principle of such a rule is contained in the words, "*Diligamus Eum, quoniam prior dilexit nos.*"

If any person desire to find the counterpart of such a character, or rather its exemplification, we know not whither we can direct him better than to the Book of Psalms. The history of the great Prophet, who was inspired to write the Psalms, has been a scandal to infidels, and a difficulty with many believers. They find it hard to reconcile the great faults which are recorded of him with his panegyric as the "man after God's heart." In the whole range of Scripture there is not a single book which is so strictly *ethical* as the Psalms; none which bears so purely the character of what is called in modern phraseology "Confessions." Now, if we look through this book with the view of acquiring that knowledge of its author's heart which it so copiously supplies, we shall find that holy David was just that "man of one idea" who is Father Faber's model Christian, or to speak more exactly, who is the saint in type. To illustrate this point would be to transcribe, not texts, but passages; and at last it is not so much the quotation of single phrases which bears upon it, as the whole spirit of the divine work. David made God's cause his own. He was literally "in love" with God's honour. It preyed upon his spirits; it deprived him of rest. This, of course, is the secret of what are sometimes called the *vindictive* parts of the Psalms. "*Nonne qui oderunt Te, Domine, oderam et super inimicos Tuos tabescebam? Perfecto odio oderam illos, et inimici facti sunt mihi.* (Ps. cxxx.) And it may furnish the clue to the singular estimation with which David is regarded in Holy Scripture.

Now, if we might venture to speak of a great defect in the character of many exemplary Christians, we should point

to the absence of this spirit of simple *loyalty* to Christ. It may seem strange to speak of a Christian as by possibility exemplary, who wants what seems like the very essence of the Christian character. But so it certainly is, that a person may be very exact in all the duties of his state, and thus give real edification to his neighbour, who, from want of reflection, or from never having been led to think of the matter, really suffers himself all the while to be swayed by some ruling passion (not conspicuously bad) other than the pure love of his dearest, most compassionate Redeemer. Father Faber describes such a character in the earlier part of his Treatise, and makes "sensitive-ness," or, as he calls it, "touchiness" to the interests of our Lord, the great criterion by which to know "what manner of spirit" a man "is of." Where Christians are more naturally "touched" by insults cast upon their own honour, or the honour of a "wife or sister," than by some act of blasphemy, or sacrilege, whereby God's accidental glory is directly affected, the progress of His religion hindered, and the work of grace in the soul damaged or deteriorated, it is plain, account for it and allow for it as we may, that there is a flaw and a leak somewhere, which must be diligently sought out and thoroughly repaired, before the elementary idea of the Christian, as represented in the Gospel of our Lord, can be said to have been duly realized.

Father Faber's work, then, being what it is, we cannot wonder at the favourable reception which has greeted it. There were Catholics, full of amiable and earnest feeling, who wanted direction for their aims; there were others, conscious of some great defect in themselves, yet needing to be sent deeper for the source of it than to any matters of mere detail; while others were hopelessly toiling after a higher standard amid the drawbacks of weak health, constitutional timidity, or worldly business. To all these Father Faber has lent a helping hand and proffered the balm of consolation. Here, therefore, we seem to find an explanation of his success.

On the other hand, we are equally little surprised at exceptions which in some few cases have, as we believe, been taken against the book. Father Faber seems to point out, or anticipate, these in the Preface to his new edition, where he says, "All these practices and devotions may be thought to have more to do with Affective than with Effective Love." This, we fancy, is a hint at a class of objections to which the

work may give, or in some cases has given, rise. And our task would not be completed if we did not endeavour to master this objection, as well as to suggest an answer to it.

Father Faber, it may be urged, says little, directly, about that which other spiritual writers make prominent,—the saving, by each person, of his own individual soul. He touches but cursorily, and by implication rather than express notice, upon the *purgative*, and is chiefly occupied with the branches of the affective life. He rather comes round to each man's duty of saving his own soul before any other practical consideration than starts with it; includes it in the general scope of his work as part of the love of souls, by which the glory of God and the interests of Jesus are promoted, than makes it (at least apparently) the prime business of each particular Christian. And yet, it may be urged, Almighty God has charged each one with the responsibility of saving his own soul as the work to which he is especially called, and which lies directly in his way; and encourages his efforts to this end with a prospective certainty of success, which He does not assure to his prayers or efforts for the salvation of others. For they may put obstacles in the way of the grace which our prayers impetrate upon them; whereas each one of us has power of removing such obstacles to his own salvation. There is danger, it may be further said, of our overlooking self-discipline in this comprehensive love, as St. Paul himself feared to do, when he kept his body in subjection, lest in preaching to others, himself might become reprobate. For, although the active ministrations of charity have dangers which prayer has not, yet the tendency even of intercessory prayer, exclusively pursued, may be to familiarize the mind of the Christian with the sins and wants of *others* at the risk of drawing it off from his own.

Another and kindred objection which might very conceivably be brought against Father Faber's Treatise, would be founded upon its seeming to make *inclination* the rule of conduct in matters indifferent. What is called "voluntary penance" occupies a far less prominent place in this Treatise than in the writings of most spiritualists. This difference between himself and other ascetical writers Father Faber seems to recognize in the following passage, where, after speaking of the revelations of our Lord to St. Gertrude, and of some in particular, by which He graciously checked her desire of honouring Him rather by personal

austerities than by the general oblation of her daily actions, Father Faber observes:—

“Spiritual books tell us that if we indulge, for instance, our sense of smell in some fragrance, it is a huge immortification; yet St. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi runs into the garden, plucks a flower, inhales the fragrance with delight, and cries out, ‘O good, most good God! who from all eternity destined this flower to give me, a sinner, this enjoyment.’ So I know not how St. Gertrude and her grapes would have fared with some spiritual writers. She would have been told that she should remember our Lord’s thirst upon the cross, and that she should not give way, unless, indeed, she felt that she had not grace for the heights of perfection. You see our sweet Jesus, took quite another view. Thus, also, St. Theresa, in her letter to Alonzo Velasquez, bishop of Osma, speaking of herself in the third person, says, ‘Besides what I have just mentioned, then again, as far as regards her body and health, I think she takes more care of it, and is less mortified in eating; neither has she such desires of doing penance, as she used to have. But, in her opinion, all tends to this object, namely, to be able to serve God the more in other things; for she often offers Him, as an agreeable sacrifice, this care she takes of the body.’”—pp. 175-6.

There is something, we confess it, in the cast of this passage, especially one part of it, which we do not wholly fancy. But we are here quoting it, not in objection, but in illustration of objections, which we do not quite share, though we can fully understand them. To proceed, then, with the adversary’s case;—to understand which is the condition of being able to meet it. To make an oblation of actions to which we are naturally inclined is, it may be said, (nor would Father Faber deny it,) a far easier thing than to make a similar offering of a *sacrifice* of inclination. If I wake in the morning with a slight head ache, at my usual time of rising, the following colloquy takes place between two principles within me. The one says, “It is a bad thing to break in upon a habit; and the little sacrifice I make when I might so reasonably lie in bed, adds merit to the action, and so I will get up, and risk the consequences.” The other replies, “You are not obliged to get up. No particular duty calls you. You can go to the ‘lazy mass’ at eleven. Ten to one, but by getting up you will increase your head-ache; you may sleep it off.” Then comes in the thought, “Offer up your sleep, instead of your rising,” &c. &c.

Now we are not deciding this case, but putting it. The

same rapid course of argument goes on at the dinner table, where one man forbears from something very tempting with a view of strengthening a habit of resistance to inclination, and another eats it, as one of God's good creatures, "with thankfulness." Is *inclination* in these cases, to be consulted, or to be suspected? Is it to be treated as a saucy slave, poking its head into places where it is not wanted, or as a religious superior, challenging "obedience in all that is not sin?"

To the kind of objection at which this description points, (and by implication to the former also,) Father Faber seems to us to give a satisfactory, if not a complete, answer in his Preface, where he says:—

*"Self-abnegation is not the subject I am treating of. I am not trying to guide souls in high spirituality. God forbid I should be so foolish or vain. As a son of St. Philip, I have especially to do with the world, and with people living in the world, and trying to sanctify themselves in ordinary vocations. It is to such I speak; and I am putting upon them not high things," &c.—Preface, pp. ix. and x.*

This disclaimer must form the rule of interpretation for the whole work. Father Faber, then, is not writing for religious, but for people in the world. He takes such persons as he finds them, with the power of bodily mortification indefinitely crippled by long habits of indulgence, with a host of aristocratic ailments sufficiently trying to patience, but not fatal to the performance of ordinary duties; with their time miserably cut up by the inroads of business, with their spirituality seriously threatened by the tone of the society in which they are compelled to move. He does not attempt to "wind" such patients "too high" for the state to which God has called them, or to put them out of conceit of that state. He teaches them to walk before he expects them to run. He takes them with their failings and their ailings, their mangled time and their shortened opportunities, and makes, not all he would wish, but what he can, of them. "You have not time," he seems to say, "for an hour's, or half an hour's meditation. Well, our Lord does not expect impossibilities; try and make up by fervour what your act of devotion wants in duration. You cannot fast like a person in health; well, give God thanks for those who can, and do your best. Your rheumatism, or your head-ache, or your indigestion, is a better sacrifice than a meagre dinner. Unite it with

some of our dear Redeemer's sufferings or annoyances, and offer it up to Him. Again, don't suppose that the alternative with our gracious God lies between voluntary mortification and corrupt indulgences. There is a middle line, better suited to your case than the former, and wholly distinct from the latter, which is that of taking things pleasant, but not sinful, when they come in a natural way, as instances of God's goodness, specimens of His way of dealing with you, and so incentives to your love. God wants you to be happy, and to make those happy who are around you. If, denying yourself something nice which is not wrong, do not sour your temper, and encourage the spirit of scrupulosity, and lead you to think too severely of God, and make you morose, deny yourself by all means; it is the higher line. But don't make a fuss about it, and look sanctified over it; for our Lord's whole teaching and behaviour, when on earth, is infinitely more against *laying stress* upon such things, than it is in favour of bodily mortifications." Now all the objections in the world to which Father Faber may have laid himself open, will never incline us to doubt the spiritual wisdom of such direction, if, in this little sketch of it, we have not seriously misunderstood his meaning.

The only question which we can permit ourselves to entertain, is whether, throughout his Treatise, Father Faber has always kept in view the distinction which he so clearly draws in his Preface between the line of high and the line of accommodated spirituality. For instance, in the passage which we lately quoted, where St. Gertrude is introduced, there is nothing to make it appear that it is, *per se*, a lower thing to follow natural inclination, with a pure intention, than to forego it as an act of voluntary mortification. On the contrary, stress is laid upon our Blessed Lord having recommended the former course to St. Gertrude, on a certain occasion, in preference to the latter. Again, in the same passage, we read:—

"She, (St. Gertrude,) would have been told, (by certain spiritual authorities,) that she should remember our Lord's thirst upon the cross, and that she should not give way, *unless, indeed, she felt that she had not grace for the heights of perfection.*" (p. 175.)

There is something here which, as we think, wants to be adjusted with the words of the Preface. Nor would it seem to reflect upon the theory of certain spiritual writers,



that a direct revelation, in a special instance, happens to support the case of an exception.

What place, in short, does the supposed recommendation of certain spiritual writers occupy in Father Faber's theory? Waving the instance of St. Gertrude, (to which they would not, out of deference to the express revelation accorded her, have wished to apply their rule,) is it, or not, (in general,) the higher line of sanctity to mortify an appetite in union with the thirst on the cross, than to gratify it in the spirit of oblation? If not, a great difficulty is suggested in remembering that the *example* of the saints in general, not to speak of our Blessed Lord's own, is in favour of considering mortification not merely a meritorious addition to all sacrifice, but rather as involved in its very idea. If it be the more perfect way, the writers in question are, we think, somewhat unfairly treated in the above passage.

Where Father Faber gives the preference to the Saints, as spiritual authorities, over uncanonized writers, we are not sure whether he refers to their examples as collected from their biographies, or to their occasional and scattered writings. The latter, if we conceive rightly, are comparatively few, and confined, for the most part, to letters, or other unsystematic modes of information. For the Treatise of St. Alphonso belongs to a somewhat different branch of theology. What may be called the "maxims" of the Saints, as gathered from their histories, or their casual expressions, may, we apprehend, be used in different ways, and quite as much on the side of a severer, as of a milder, rule of spiritual governance. The sentiment quoted from St. Theresa's letters, in the passage we have produced, must be qualified, for instance, by her well-known prayer, "*Aut pati, aut mori.*" And it would be dangerous, we suppose, to press too far an allowance made whether to her, or to St. Gertrude, at the end of a long course of austerities, so dissimilar from the lives of most Catholics in our own time.

It would also, we think, be somewhat technical to insist too strongly upon the distinction between canonized and uncanonized spiritualists. The line which separates, for instance, the author of the "*Imitation*" from any *canonized* writer in the world, (if he were not actually such,) is of the most imaginary description, and we are glad to find that Father Faber exempts, by name, that matchless

work from any seeming liability to his exceptions. That, indeed, is a book of which we will say, that if it pleased God to leave us but two in the world, we should desire that it might be one. But we may mention Rodriguez' most admirable and instructive Treatise on Spiritual Perfection, as another case of a book, proceeding, indeed, from an uncanonized writer, yet raised, by common consent, to the very first rank of its class.

We suppose, however, that the question between Father Faber and other approved spiritual writers admits of a settlement which leaves to all their own peculiar place, and distinctive work, in the Church. With the exception, perhaps, of the "Imitation of Christ," which, indeed, is as much of a devotional as of an ascetical treatise, we do not happen to remember any work of a spiritual nature which does not require to be modified, in greater or less degree, by *personal direction*. Treatises and sermons, in regard to the spiritual life, bear to the office of the individual director very much the relation of lectures and medical directories to that of the bodily physician. And most valuable in its line, as we consider Father Faber's Treatise, we are sure he would be the last to desire that it should minister to that practice, against which all the most eminent authorities contend with one voice—self direction. The utmost which any treatise can accomplish, whether in bodily or spiritual medicine, is to elucidate principles and lay down general rules. The rest must be done by those who are personally cognizant of all the features and symptoms of the particular case.

And valuable as we think that Father's work will prove to all classes of readers, there is one in particular by whom we are sure that it may be studied with the greatest advantage, and that is, priests who have the charge of souls. True though it be, that it is not (what it neither professes to be, nor could by possibility be) a complete manual of spiritual direction, it yet opens a view of ascetics, deeper, more comprehensive, and more original, than any work, at least of our own time, and perhaps even than any single work of the same compass and general interest. To speak of it as original in any sense which would imply it to be a discovery in a region of theology which has been trodden by so many saints and doctors, would be the last compliment that we should wish to pay, or Father Faber would desire to receive. But if to have collected, adjusted,

and systematized materials which lie embedded in the mines of a more abstruse theology ; if to have given substance and lucid expression to the hints of other writers, and to have invested his subject with a devotional interest which removes it altogether from the province of "hard reading," and transfers it to that of the purest and most exalted recreation,—if this entitle an author to the praise of originality, Father Faber deserves the credit, not so much of having written a great work, as of having inaugurated a new era in a branch of literature which is beyond all comparison, the most important that can be named in its influence upon mankind.

---

ART. VII.—1. *Theological Essays*. By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. Second Edition, 8vo. Cambridge: Mac Millan and Co. 1853.

2. *Grounds for laying before the Council of King's College, London, Certain Statements contained in a recent Publication, entitled, "Theological Essays; by the Rev. F. D. MAURICE, M.A., Professor of Divinity in King's College."* By R. W. JELF, D.D., Principal of the College, and Canon of Christ Church. Oxford and London: Parker and Rivington. 1853.

3. *The Word "Eternal," and the Punishment of the Wicked*. A Letter to the Rev. Dr. JELF, Canon of Christ Church, and Principal of King's College. By F. D. MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. Fifth Thousand, with a Preface. 8vo. Cambridge: Mac Millan and Co. 1853.

4. *Doctrine de l'Eglise Anglicane Relative aux Sacrements et aux Ceremonies Sacramentales*. Londres, Paris, et Leipsic. 1853.

5. *A Companion to Confession, from the Ancient Offices of the Use of Sarum*. Translated and arranged, by a Layman. Second Edition, London: Lumley. 1853.

6. *A Companion to Holy Communion, from the Ancient Offices of the Use of Sarum*. Translated and arranged, by a Layman. Second Edition, London: Lumley. 1853.

7. *Rocaries*: compiled for the use of English Churchmen. London, 1853.
8. *An Ecclesiastical Dictionary, explanatory of the History, Antiquities, Heresies, Sects, and Religious Denominations of the Christian Church.* By the Rev. JOHN FARRAR. 8vo. London: Mason. 1853.
9. *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. London: Mozley. 1853.

IT was a maxim of the syncretists that a creed or formula should be constructed on the model of the "net cast into the sea, and gathering together of all kinds of fishes," sufficiently capacious to admit every conceivable shade of belief, yet sufficiently elastic to retain them all within its meshes. It was in the spirit of this maxim that they laboured, through a whole century of weary and thankless negotiations, to draw together the discordant elements of Lutheran and Calvinistic theology, and, for a time, even to bring them both into harmony with those of their common antagonist, the Catholic Church. The professorial oath of office in their principal theological seat, the University of Helmstädt, contained a clause by which the professor was bound to use every legitimate effort to settle, according to his ability, the prevailing controversies. The same oath was prescribed to every candidate for the theological degree;\* and the works of Conring, of Molanus, of Fabricius, of George Calixtus, of the younger theologian of the same name, and of many others, are a sufficient evidence of the zeal with which, in the face of much difficulty and systematic discouragement, they pursued their amiable, but hopelessly Utopian vocation.

We shall, no doubt, offend the High-Church school of Anglicans, by venturing to hint that such a principle as this ever formed a part of the doctrinal scheme of the English Reformation. They will resent, as an ignorant calumny, any comparison of their formularies with the net in the parable. It is treason in their eyes even to allude, in speaking of their Church system, to the well-known notion of a "compromise;" to allege that their Articles were so framed at their first compilation, or were so modified in their reconstruction, as to provide for the toleration both of the Catholic and the Calvinistic element; or to

---

\* *Mosheim's Church History*, (Soames's Ed.,) iv., 177.

insinuate that both elements may be recognized as enjoying a separate and independent existence in their system, the one in the Articles, the other in the Prayer Book.

But, painful as the conviction must be to the sensibilities of this school, every day's experience must force it more and more upon their minds, that whatever may be the source of the deficiency, the dogmatic system of their Church is practically liable to this impeachment in its worst form.

We do not stop to enquire what may be the cause. It may be that the formularies themselves are designedly vague and comprehensive in their terminology: it may be that they are the work of different hands, and present, in their several parts, evidences of unreconciled and irreconcilable principles and views: it may be that the constitution of the Church contains no "living" principle of authority, whereby this vagueness and uncertainty of the "dead letter" might be neutralized. These are points which do not concern us now. Neither do we examine what may be the remedy. We do not consider whether it may be looked for in the revival of convocation; or in the restoration of synodical action to the Church; or in the recognition and extension of the authority of individual bishops. We omit all consideration of the equally important discussion, how far these remedies, or any one of them, even supposing them to be efficacious, is, or ever can be hoped to be, in the slightest degree feasible. But, however all this may be, the fact itself cannot be escaped by any device, or evaded by any dexterity.

It stands out prominently in the whole history of Anglicanism;—in the original framing of her formularies; in all the successive modifications of them, and of every portion of them; in the details of every controversy regarding them which has ever arisen within her pale,—in the Quinquarticular controversy, in the Laudian controversy, in the Latitudinarian controversy, in the Tractarian controversy. At different times different elements have been to the ascendant: at one time, the Catholic, at another, the Calvinistic, at another some modification of either or of both. But, whatever may have been the progress of each controversy, the issue has been invariably the same. Neither element has ever been able to succeed, whether in absorbing or in expelling the other.

The result has uniformly been a "compromise." Not a

compromise of amalgamation, but a compromise of toleration. Both elements have continued to co-exist, but in a perfectly distinct and independent form. Each has itself become a distinct and independent centre, from which new varieties of belief have continued to emanate, with the same prescriptive rights of fellowship which are claimed by their original. In the end, from the very multiplication of these divergences, it has become a matter of necessity, or at least of policy, to refrain from drawing the lines of demarcation too sharply. The Church herself has not ventured to look too closely into the niceties of membership; just as, when the slaves became too numerous in Rome, the Senate abolished their distinctive dress, lest, by discovering their relative superiority of numbers, they might become formidable to the masters of whom they had hitherto stood in awe.

Many of those, it is true, who dissent from the more popular belief of the Church of England, have formally withdrawn from her communion, and established themselves as independent societies. We do not refer to these. We are speaking now of the varieties of belief which have prevailed within her pale—and among those who have received all her formularies in common, and who have conformed alike to all the peculiarities of her Ritual. We do not confine ourselves to those times when subscription to the formularies was carelessly exacted and irregularly performed. In the days of Bancroft we might almost say that it was abolished altogether. "Such," he writes, "is the retchlessness of many of our bishops on the one side, and their desire to be at ease and quietness to think upon their own affairs; and on the other side, such is the intolerable pride and obstinacy of that factious sort, as that, betwixt both sides, either subscription is not at all required, or if it be, the bishops admit them so to *qualify it*, that it were better to be omitted altogether." As regards literal subscription to the Formularies, there is nothing to be complained of. On the contrary, there never has been wanting in the Church a firm and steady resolution to maintain the test of subscription as the great safeguard of orthodoxy. From the Puritan proposal for the abolition of subscription at the Hampton Court Conference down to the Arian agitation against it under Blackburne, every attempt to procure an alteration of the law has been defeated. But, at every period



during this interval, there has existed in the Church, more or less prominent according to circumstances, a party, who, while they denied the necessity of faith in what others regarded as fundamental dogmas prescribed by the articles, were yet willing to go through the formality, as they termed it, of subscribing to the articles, either as a step to ordination, or a condition of advancement to the honour or the emoluments of office; alleging that "these articles might be conscientiously subscribed in any sense in which they themselves, by their own interpretation, could reconcile them to Scripture, without regard to the meaning and intention either of the persons who first compiled, or who now imposed them." \*

It is only just to say, that this unscrupulous and dishonest party, however numerous at one time in the English Church, has had few, if any, avowed representatives in more recent days. The history of the late Tractarian movement; the principles put forward upon the one side, in the discussion of the celebrated Tract 90; those alleged upon the other, during the Gorham controversy;—all make it abundantly clear that both the antagonistic schools still claim, each for itself, the direct sanction and authority of the formularies; and there is hardly any modification of either school, however extreme, which does not profess at least to be reconcilable, if not with their language, at all events with their spirit. And we freely admit, that, in the recent discussions, those who have departed farthest, upon either side, from the popular interpretation of the formularies, although they have not escaped the charge of dishonesty and special pleading, yet in reality are less liable to impeachment on this score than the advocates of the lax theory of subscription in the eighteenth century; for few of the latter scrupled to avow that the natural sense of the Formularies, as well as the sense intended by their first compilers, was directly at variance with the doctrines which they themselves maintained; nor is it possible to reconcile subscription, as understood and practised by them, with the ordinary principles of honour and truth.

But, apart from this consideration of the personal honesty of the subscriber, there is no difference between the two systems of subscription as regards the maintenance of uni-

---

\* Waterland's *Case of Arian Subscription*, Works, II., 264—5.

formity of doctrine. So long as the Formularies are regarded as a mere letter;—so long as there exists no living and speaking authority to decide what is the true sense of the Formularies, and to condemn definitively those who affix to them any other than this sense;—so long must these diversities of interpretation subsist; so long must each party be conceded the right of regarding its own interpretation, as, if not exclusively genuine, at least equally entitled with any rival to all the privileges of orthodoxy. It is impossible to fix the limit at which this license shall stop. In the late controversy the conflict lay between the Evangelical principles on one side, and those of High Church on the other. But who shall say what will be the extremes in the next controversy which may arise? What is to prevent the application to the interpretation of Church formularies, the same rationalizing principles which are becoming every day more and more common in the interpretation of Scripture? The petition presented to Parliament, in 1772, against compulsory subscription, under the inspiration of Blackburne, was based on “the undoubted right of Protestants to interpret Scripture for themselves.”\* Why may not the same principle be advanced in support of the claim to interpret the articles, the catechism, and the Prayer-book?

The reality and the imminence of this danger will appear to any dispassionate Anglican who casts his eye over the publications named at the head of these pages. The authors of all alike profess membership of the Church of England, and all profess to follow out in some way the spirit of her formularies. Yet their doctrines are wide asunder as the poles; and while both claim the toleration, and even the authority, of the same formularies, we find, upon the one side, opinions to which the most rigid Catholic may cheerfully subscribe, and on the other, principles and views which seem to reduce religion to an unsubstantial dream, and make one tremble for the foundations of Christianity themselves.

Indeed, when we turn to the first class of publications to which we are alluding, we doubt whether the large majority of our readers will be prepared to hear how many of what they are disposed to regard as their own peculiar doctrines, are still, notwithstanding the check which

---

\* Hardwick's History of the Articles, p. 228.

such doctrines have received, maintained under the shadow of Anglicanism; much more, to what extent their most cherished practices still find favour within its ranks. We have already dwelt at such length on Archdeacon Wilberforce's very remarkable work on the Holy Eucharist, that we shall not do more than allude to it here; but another and still more conclusive illustration of these statements will be found in the other publications which we have enumerated;—works which are not of a dogmatical or polemical, but of a strictly practical character; books which are intended not for speculation, or for the indulgence of sentiment, but for use; and which, although published without the sanction of authority, and even reprobated in quarters which claim to be regarded as strictly High-Church, are yet sufficiently popular among those for whom they are designed, to find their way through successive editions. We shall briefly notice a few of these.

Every one has heard, from time to time since the commencement of the Tractarian movement, vague reports of the existence of the practices of auricular confession among Anglicans, and there are few who have not known particular clergymen pointed out as especial patrons of this ordinance. But little is known of its real working, except by those who have themselves passed through the ordeal; and the affair takes a much more definite shape when it meets us in the downright guise of a Manual of the necessary devotions connected with it—a practical “Companion to Confession,” precisely such as those which we have been ourselves from boyhood in the habit of using, containing “prayers before confession,” “prayers at confession,” “prayers after confession,” and even a detailed “examination of conscience,” (under the title of a “Form of Confession,”) upon the separate heads of the “Seven Deadly sins,” the “Ten Commandments,” “the Five Senses,” “the seven works of Mercy, bodily,” “the Seven Works of Mercy, ghostly,” “the Seven gifts of the Holy Ghost,” “the Sacraments,” (which include not only Baptism and the Eucharist, but also “Confirmation, Penance, Wedlock, Priesthood, and Anointing,”) and the Eight Beatitudes!” Such is the “Companion to Confession, from the Ancient Offices of the Use of Sarum!”

Nor is the reader to imagine that (although it is also adapted for this end) this Manual is intended as a mere guide for the private self-examination of the penitent with

a view to his humble accusation of himself to God. It is a regular form of *confession to a priest*—not meant for one single occasion, but to be employed habitually, or at least at stated intervals. The confession begins on the penitent's part with a formal self-accusation *to the priest*: "I acknowledge myself guilty to Almighty God, to all the company of Heaven, and to you, my ghostly father, that, *since the time of my last confession*, I have offended my Lord God grievously, and especially, &c.," following out in detail each of the heads of examination. And it is concluded by a solemn and explicit absolution on the part of the priest:

"Almighty God have mercy upon you, and forgive you all your sins, deliver you from all evil, preserve and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life. Amen.

"Then let the Priest absolve him from all his sins. It may be thus:

"OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST of His great goodness absolve thee; and I, by the authority of The Same God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, committed to me, absolve thee from all those sins which, being contrite in heart, with thy mouth thou hast confessed to me; and from all other thy sins, which, if they had occurred to thy remembrance, thou wouldst have been ready to confess; [and I restore thee to the Sacraments of the Church.] In the name of the Father, and of The Son, and of The Holy Ghost. Amen.

"Let us pray.

"Stretch forth, O LORD, unto this Thy servant the right hand of Thy celestial help, that he may search for Thee with his whole heart, and obtain what he worthily requests, through CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

"Let the Benediction follow.

"The Blessing of GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, and of THE SON, and of THE HOLY GHOST, descend upon thee and abide with thee for ever. Amen."—pp. 21-2.

It will be seen that this form of absolution is neither *deprecativ*e nor *declaratory*, but strictly *judicatory*; and that it clearly supposes the power of the priest to grant absolution from sin, as the minister of Christ! In a word, there is no detail, whether of doctrine or of practice, in which this Manual could be distinguished from those drawn up under the eye of the Holy Office, except that the *Ave Maria* is introduced simply as a "Memorial of the Incarnation," and is shorn of its second part—that

which contains the direct prayer for the intercession of the Virgin Mother!

The "Companion to Holy Communion," (compiled by the same author) is written in precisely the same spirit. Perhaps we may best describe it as an embodiment in a devotional form of all the doctrines and the views regarding the Blessed Eucharist which are put forward by Archdeacon Wilberforce in his dogmatical work. It consists of a series of prayers, hymns, meditations, and extracts from the Holy Fathers, all directly expressing, in language as strong as any Catholic could imply, the most profound faith, not only in the reality of our Lord's Presence in the Eucharist, but even in the transubstantiation of the material elements of Bread and Wine; in the truth of the Eucharistic Sacrifice; and in its propitiatory power, as an offering both for the living and for the dead!

Where, for instance, even among ourselves, is the faith of Christ's presence so vivid, as not to be satisfied by such an address as the following?

*"Hail! true Body\* of the Virgin  
Mary born on Earth for me!*

Truly man's transgressions purging,

Slain and suffering on the Tree!

From Whose side for sinners riven,

Blood flowed and water graciously!

May of Thee the foretaste given,

Help us in death's agony!

"O merciful, O kind, O sweet JESU, Son of Mary! Hail! JESU CHRIST, Word of the FATHER, Son of the Virgin, Lamb of God, Salvation of the world, *Holy Sacrifice*, Word in Flesh, Fountain of Pity! Hail! JESU, Praise of Angels, Glory of Saints, Vision of Peace, Entire Deity, True Man, Flower and fruit of the Virgin Mother! Hail! JESU CHRIST, Brightness of the FATHER, Prince of Peace, Gate of Heaven, Living Bread, Offspring of the Virgin, Vessel of the Godhead! Hail! JESU CHRIST, Light of Heaven, Ransom of the world, Joy of our hearts, Bread of Angels, Rejoicing of the heart, King and Spouse of Virginity! Hail! JESU CHRIST, the most sweet Way, Supreme Truth, Reward of ours, Living Charity, Fountain of Love, Peace, Sweetness of Eternal Life! *Hail! most*

---

\* "Since He Himself has declared and said of the Bread, This is My Body, who shall dare to doubt any longer? And since He has affirmed and said, This is My Blood, who shall ever hesitate, saying that it is not His Blood?"—*S. Cyril of Jer. Cat. Lect. xxii.*

*Holy and precious Body of Christ, which, set on the Altar of the Cross for the saving of the world, I believe with my heart, I confess with my mouth, a True Sacrifice, a Pure Sacrifice, a Holy Sacrifice, a Sacrifice unspotted and acceptable to God, the Holy Bread of Eternal Life and the Cup of everlasting Salvation! I worship Thee in spirit and in truth.\* O kind JESU! Good JESU, have mercy upon me! I pray Thee, therefore, O God, that like as I see Thee here present under the form of bread and wine, so I may be found worthy to behold Thee in the Glory of Thy Majesty, in peace and gladness for ever and ever. Amen.*

*"In the presence of Thy most Holy Body and Blood, O LORD JESU CHRIST, I commend unto Thee myself most miserable Thy servant, that by the virtue of Thy Holy Cross, and by the mystery of Thy Holy Incarnation, Nativity, Baptism, Fasting, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and by the coming of The HOLY GHOST The Comforter, and by Thy name Ineffable, Thou Who art God Almighty, Alpha and Omega, The Beginning and the End, Sabaoth, Adonai, Emmanuel, Which is God with us, The Way, The Truth, and The Life, our Salvation, Victory, and Resurrection, especially by the invocation of this life-giving Sacrifice of Thy Body and Blood."—pp. 69-72.*

And, if it be said that there is here no distinct avowal of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, take the following :

*"Hail! for evermore, most Holy and precious Flesh. Hail! for evermore, most Holy and precious Blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. Hail! Saving Victim for the salvation of mankind, offered on the Altar of the Cross. Hail! most sufficient Sacrifice. Hail! most delectable refreshment. Hail! JESU CHRIST. Hail! Redeemer of the world, inestimable Glory of all the elect, Who, for us miserable sinners didst vouchsafe to take upon Thee this Flesh from the immaculate Virgin, and to shed forth This Blood from Thy Side, whilst hanging on the Cross; purify us, sanctify us, direct us in*

---

*\* "No man eats This Flesh unless he first adores; for the wise men and the barbarians did worship This Body in the manger with very much fear and reverence; let us, therefore, who are citizens of Heaven, at least not fall short of the barbarians. But thou seest Him not in the manger, but on the Altar, and thou beholdest Him not in the Virgin's arms, but presented by the Priest, and brought to thee in sacrifice by The HOLY SPIRIT OF GOD."—S. August. in Psalm xcvi. S. Chrysostom. Hom. Cor. 1.*

*"We adore The Body of CHRIST in the Mysteries."—S. Ambrose De Spir. S. Taylor's "Worthy Communicant," VII. S. I.*

*"CHRIST Himself, the Reality of the Sacrament, in and along with the Sacrament, wherever He is, is to be worshipped."—Bishop Andrewes.*



the way of eternal salvation. *And, as in This sacred Mystery\* is made a change in the Bread and Wine, so change us into Thyself, and conform us wholly to Thy grace. Amen.*”—p. 78.

On the reality of the Sacrifice and its propitiatory power both for the living and the dead, the Companion is equally explicit and unreserved :

“We intreat Thee also, O Lord! Holy FATHER! *for the souls of the faithful departed* \* \* \* that this great Sacrament of Thy love may be unto them salvation and health, joy and refreshment. O LORD my God! grant them this day a great and abundant feast of Thee, The living God, Who camest down from Heaven, and gavest life unto the world, even of Thy holy and blessed Flesh, The LAMB without spot, Who takest away the sins of the world; even of that Flesh which was taken of the holy and glorious Virgin Mary, and conceived of The HOLY GHOST, and of that Fountain of mercy which from the soldier's spear flowed from Thy most sacred Side, that therewith enlarged and sated, refreshed and comforted, they may rejoice in Thy praise and glory.

“I pray Thy clemency, O LORD, that on the bread to be offered unto Thee may descend the fulness of Thy Benediction, and the Sanctification of Thy Divinity. May there descend also The invisible and incomprehensible Majesty of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, as it descended of old on the sacrifices of the fathers, Which may make our oblations Thy Body and Blood, [and teach me an unworthy priest to handle so great a Mystery with purity of heart and the devotion of tears, with reverence and trembling, so that Thou mayest graciously and favourably receive the sacrifice of my hands for the good of all, living and departed.]”—pp. 58-9.

We might multiply almost to an unlimited extent these testimonies to our most cherished doctrines regarding the Blessed Eucharist. In truth, the *Companion to Holy Communion* is simply a translation, with but few modifications or adaptations, “from the ‘Enchiridion,’ or ‘Hours,’ being the Manual of Private Devotion, according to the English Use of Sarum.” Of this Manual more than a hundred editions were circulated in England, dur-

---

\* “The Bread of The Eucharist is mere Bread no longer, but The Body of CHRIST.”

“Contemplate the Bread and Wine not as bare elements, for they are according to The LORD's declaration The Body and Blood of CHRIST; for though sense suggests this to thee, let faith stablish thee. Judge not the matter from taste, but be fully assured without misgiving, that thou hast been vouchsafed The Body and Blood of CHRIST.”—*S. Cyr. of Jerus. Cat. Lect. xxii.*

ing the last years of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. Accordingly, the prayers which it contains are in reality those of the old Catholic Ante-Reformation Church of England, and besides those intended for private use comprise most of the Hymns, sequences, anthems of the Blessed Eucharist, as they are found in the Sarum Missal—the *Lauda Sion*,\* the *Ave verum Corpus*, the *Adoro Te Devote*, the *Pange Lingua Gloriosi*, and many others equally consecrated to Catholic use.

“Laud, O Syon! Thy Salvation,  
Shepherd! Prince! of Israel's nation,  
High thy choral anthems raise!  
All thy might and joy it needeth,  
For He all thy praise exceedeth,  
Thou canst ne'er express His praise.

\* \* \* \* \*

What CHRIST in That Feast completed  
He ordained to be repeated  
His Memorial to our eyes;  
Taught in This great Rite He gave us,  
We The Bread of life to save us  
Hallow, a True Sacrifice.

This The Truth each Christian learneth,  
*Bread into His Flesh He turneth,*  
*Wine to His most Holy Blood;*  
*What nor sense nor sight descrieth,*  
*That a living faith supplieth,*  
In divine and wondrous mode.

Under diverse species hidden,  
In signs to which we are bidden  
Noble Mysteries reside,  
*Blood made drink, and Flesh there broken*  
*For our meat;* yet in each Token  
CHRIST doth e'er Entire abide;

*Severed not by him that taketh,*  
*None divideth Him nor breaketh,*  
Whole His blessed Self they taste;

---

\* We are tempted to append one or two verses of the translation of this noble hymn. Like most of those which have preceded it, this translation, in a literary sense, leaves a great deal to be desired. But, as an illustration of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, is well worthy of a place here.

One, yet thousands are receivers,  
 What one, thousands of believers  
 Eat, yet Him they cannot waste.

Good and bad The Feast are sharing,  
 Yet a doom unlike preparing,  
 Life, or everlasting woe ;  
 Sinners death, the righteous making  
 Life their own ; from that same taking  
 Ah ! what differing ends shall show.

Now The Sacrament is broken,  
 Doubt not ; *but think of the Token*  
*Every part, as He hath spoken,*

*So much as The Whole doth hide ;*  
 In The Gift there is no scission,  
 Of the Sign alone division,  
 Nor in stature nor condition

Changeth The Thing signified.”—pp. 96-99.

It will scarcely appear extraordinary that, while the substance of Catholic devotion is thus unreservedly and unhesitatingly adopted into the practice of Anglicans, there should be found some to suggest, and even to urge, the adoption of its forms, even of those among its forms which are popularly regarded as the most objectionable portion of our worship. Religious sisterhoods, like those which Miss Sellon has made memorable, are multiplying in many parts of England. Forms of devotion, which we are apt to consider as exclusively our own, are creeping silently into use. Persons who are habituated to the use of such “Companions to Confession and Communion,” are passing by an easy transition to the use of “Rosaries!” The principle of “Rosaries” has actually been appropriated by Anglicans ; the little work which we have selected under this title is compiled expressly “for the use of English Christians ;” and (strange as it will seem) among the devotions which it commends for adoption, are “Devotions to the Sacred Heart!”

Nor are these manifestations confined to the Church of England at home. An effort is being made to present her in this phase to the Catholic Churches of the Continent. A series of little tracts, exhibiting these peculiar doctrines of Anglicanism, has been prepared for circulation abroad. The little *brochure* entitled “*Doctrine de l’Eglise Anglicane Relative aux Sacrements et aux Ceremonies Sacramentales,*” is a French translation of a short tract by the

Rev. Frederick Meyrick (also translated into Italian and Spanish), the object of which is to show to foreign churches, by carefully selected extracts from the Catechism and the Prayer-book, and by eschewing all reference to the more Evangelical formularies, that, however it may be modified in its form or limited in the extent of its application, the Church of England has retained the sacramental system in all the integrity of its substance! These tracts are designed for "distribution by foreign travellers;" and it is hoped that "their circulation may tend to dissipate the unhappy misconceptions of the English Church, to which the proceedings of Miss Cunningham and her friends so frequently give occasion."

It will be seen, therefore, that notwithstanding the apparent lull of religious agitation which has succeeded the earnestness of a few years past, the heaven, however secretly, is still fermenting in the mass. Perhaps it would be wrong to build much hope upon such appearances. We have already said that these publications have been discountenanced by the most influential organs even of what is known as the Catholicizing party. But they cannot close their eyes, notwithstanding, to the facts themselves. These facts are, after all, only the natural fruit or the natural expression of that Catholic spirit, which, however repressed and overlaid by external influences, the late movement in the English Church has tended to evoke; and we, for our own part, cannot deny ourselves the happiness of hoping that, visionary and unsubstantial as is the prospect that this spirit, or any impersonation of it, will ever receive the sanction of the English Church as a body, the very introduction among Anglicans of practices, of principles, and even of forms, which express it, no matter how imperfectly, will continue to lead individuals, as it has already done, to look beyond the forms, to seek the practices in their fulness, and in the end to throw themselves generously and unreservedly into that system which alone carries out these principles consistently and completely, and which alone applies them in their full significance to every detail of the Christian life.

Would that we could look with the same hopefulness upon the opposite extreme of the contrast! Would that we could form the same anticipations of that school of which we have taken Mr. Maurice as the type! He, too,

claims to be a member of the Church of England. Until very recently he was a theological professor in that college which professes to be in an especial manner the organ and representation of High Church principles. He "accepts heartily all the formularies of the Church, the Three creeds, the Prayer-book, the Thirty-nine Articles."\* He proclaims over and over again, not only that he accepts them himself, but that in all that he has written, and in all that he has taught, he has ever followed the Articles of the Church "as his own teachers and helpers;" that so far from feeling himself restrained by these Articles in the expression of the opinions which he has put forward, on the contrary, he has ever felt that "the formularies have given him boldness, have raised him to a higher view than his own, have warned him against the peril and guilt of accepting the opinions of the age as his guides."† Nor is his view of the formularies altered by what has occurred in his own person. Even since the strong expressions of reprobation with which Churchmen have visited his opinions he still professes himself a Churchman. He still "adheres to the formularies in what he believes to be their literal, natural sense;"‡ and still declares that "no recent experience of his, whether in a college or in the Church, has in the least changed his opinion, that these very formularies are the best protection against the exclusiveness and cruelty of private judgment."§

We shall see hereafter what are the doctrines which Mr. Maurice claims to hold and to teach, in virtue of the liberty thus secured by the articles of the Church of England. But it may be well, before we proceed farther, to detail briefly the proceedings which have taken place in his case.

The publication by which he drew upon himself the censure of the authorities of his college, is that which stands first upon our list, his *Theological Essays*. It is proper to observe that Mr. Maurice has himself explained in an Advertisement the origin of this very remarkable publication. "A lady, once a member of the Society of Friends," had placed him by her will under the obligation of writing, or procuring to be written, some book specially addressed

---

\* Letter in Jelf's Pamphlet, p. 2.

† Preface to Second Edition, p. xvii.

‡ Letter in Jelf's pamphlet, p. 21.

§ Preface to Second Edition, p. xix.

to Unitarians. He felt, after several efforts to execute this task, that "nothing he had done gave him the least satisfaction." Mere controversial works, his experience assured him, "do little else than harm to those who write and to those who read." Some months since, however, the idea occurred to him, of embracing in a series of discourses addressed to his own congregation, all the topics which he would wish to bring under the notice of Unitarians. It was suggested to him that each discourse might, after it had been preached, be thrown into the form of an Essay. The present volume is the result. The sermons have been, of course, considerably modified. As they were actually delivered, they contained no direct address, or even allusion to Unitarians. The topics, however, and even the views, were selected with special reference to them; and in throwing the Discourses into the form of Essays, they, and the requirements of their position, have been mainly before the mind of the author. We think this a circumstance of considerable importance, as throwing light upon many of the views expressed in the Essays; although Mr. Maurice declares that "he has not said anything to the Unitarians, which he does not think equally applicable to the great body of his countrymen of all classes and opinions."

The Discourses thus modified into the form of Essays, had scarcely been published, (early in the summer of last year,) when they became the subject of a very warm and animated controversy. Exception was taken chiefly against the seventeenth or concluding Essay, which was understood to deny the Eternity of future Punishments; and a letter was addressed (July 8th, 1853,) to Mr. Maurice, by Dr. Jelf, the principal of King's College, calling for an explanation of the obnoxious Essay. Mr. Maurice's reply, and the correspondence to which it led, appeared to Dr. Jelf to make the allegation so clear, as to leave him no alternative but to lay before the council of the college, for judgment, the statements in the Essay which had been complained of. Of this intention he had, all through, made Mr. Maurice aware. The latter freely acquiesced in the fairness of this proceeding; and it is worthy of remark, as still farther illustrating what we have already said, that in accepting the decision of this tribunal, he still claims to be judged by the Church formularies.—"In it, as in all that precedes," he writes, "I have appealed to the Articles



the Creeds, and the Bible, as protectors against the notions which have attached themselves to the truth they proclaim, in the minds of our religious public, and are, it seems to me, rapidly destroying the tree of which they are the outgrowths. Having this conviction, I was more bound as a Theological Teacher to proclaim it than another person could be. But I know the risk. I cannot expect the Council to think as I do about the danger to which we are exposed, and about the remedy. If they reject me as their teacher, I shall not have the slightest cause to complain. *All I wish to be understood is, that I have asked for no changes in our formularies, for no relaxations, for no fresh interpretations. I accept heartily that to which I have subscribed.* I only pray it may not be encumbered with modern additions, that the forms, which have kept us alive through a great many vicissitudes of popular feeling, may not be contracted to suit one particular view of it. I know that Dissenters, weary of private judgment, that Scotch Calvinists, heavily bowed with the yoke of the Westminster Confession, are turning with many doubts and misgivings, but still with hope and longing, to our forms as witnesses of a Gospel to mankind, which they feel themselves hindered from preaching. What I desire for them is, that they may not find the Church of England only a new Evangelical Alliance, which substitutes for the belief in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, a belief in everlasting punishment as the bond of Christian union."

It remains only to be told that the council of King's College proceeded, in the month of October, to take into consideration Mr. Maurice's original statements, together with his explanations and the remarks of Dr. Jelf; and their judgment was that the "opinions and doubts expressed and indicated in the Essays and the Correspondence respecting future punishment, and the final issues of the Day of Judgment, are of dangerous tendency, and likely to unsettle the minds of theological students." They resolved, in consequence, that Mr. Maurice's "continuance as professor, would be seriously detrimental to the interests of the college;" and in pursuance of this resolution, he was directed by a decree of the Principal to discontinue his lectures.

In maintenance of the ground on which he had already based his vindication, namely, that his teaching was within the limits allowed by the Formularies of the Church,

Mr. Maurice (Nov. 7, 1853) "respectfully called upon the council, if they pronounced a theological sentence upon him at all, to declare what article of the Church condemns his teaching." The council, however, "decided that they did not think it necessary to enter further into the subject;" and, without assigning any more specific grounds of censure, declared the two chairs held by him in the college to be vacant."

The whole Correspondence has since been made public, partly by Dr. Jelf, partly by Mr. Maurice, and has run through several editions. These pamphlets, taken along with a series of new prefaces, on both sides, prefixed to these successive editions, will be found to contain a very satisfactory account of the entire discussion.

Such is the outline of this strange episode in the history of Anglican theology. It remains to explain, somewhat in detail, the doctrines put forward by Mr. Maurice in the *Essays* which have given rise to so much discussion.

We naturally turn, in the first instance, to the subject which has formed the sole ground of the impeachment against him—his statements on the Eternity of future Punishments. On this point it is impossible not to feel that Dr. Jelf has established a perfectly clear case against him.

Whatever of obscurity there might have been in the language of the original Essay, has been fully removed by the discussion to which it led. The private correspondence with Dr. Jelf; the Letter to him which Mr. Maurice submitted to the council; the letters and prefaces which he has since published; and the obnoxious Essay itself in the new form in which it appears (re-written) in the second edition of the *Essays*, are all of such a nature, as to leave no possible doubt of the justice of the censure which has been pronounced. We have no intention of entering into a regular discussion of this or any other of the doctrines put forward by Mr. Maurice. Our object is merely to enable the reader to form an idea of them, as doctrines emanating from one who, when he published them, was a Theological teacher in a Church of England College, and who is still a professing member, and we believe an officiating clergyman of the English Church. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to a bare recital of these doctrines.

Dr. Jelf's original charge against the Essay in question

was, that it "seemed to throw an atmosphere of doubt on the simple meaning of the word eternal, and to convey a general notion of ultimate salvation to all." After receiving all Mr. Maurice's explanations, he not only adheres to that judgment, but declares that "its terms are far too mild to express his present sense of the extent to which Mr. Maurice had committed himself to the error."

Taking these two points in succession, let us see what is Mr. Maurice's teaching regarding them.

In the original Essay he had written as follows.

"The word 'eternal,' if what there said is true, is a key-word of the New Testament. To draw our minds from the temporal, to fix them on the eternal, is the very aim of the divine economy. How much then ought we to dread any confusion between thoughts which our Lord has taken such pains to keep distinct—which our consciences tell us ought to be kept distinct! How dangerous to introduce the notion of duration into a word from which he has deliberately excluded it! And yet this is precisely what we are in the habit of doing, and it is this which causes such infinite perplexity to our minds. 'Try to conceive,' the teacher says, 'a thousand years. Multiply those by a thousand, by twenty thousand, by a hundred thousand, by a million. Still you are as far off from eternity as ever.' Certainly, I am, quite as far. Why, then, did you give me that sum to work out? What could be the use of it except to bewilder me, except to make me disbelieve eternally altogether? Do you not see that this course must be utterly wrong and mischievous? If eternity is the great reality of all, and not a portentous fiction, how dare you impress such a notion of fictitiousness on my mind as your process of illustration conveys? 'But is it not the only process?' Quite the only one, so far as I see, if you will bring Time into the question; if you will have years, and centuries, to prevent you from taking in the sublime truth, 'This is life eternal, to know God.'—Theological Essays. First Edition.—p. 436.

It is difficult to discover in this curious paragraph any key to the notion of Eternity which Mr. Maurice proposes to substitute for that which is popularly entertained. But connecting this passage with one from a letter to a friend, which appears in the correspondence with Dr. Jelf, we infer that the sole ground of his own interpretation of the word, is drawn from the well-known passage of John xvii. 3.—This is Eternal Life: that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent."

"St. John repeating our Lord's most awful prayer takes me a

step further. 'This,' he says, 'is *eternal life*, that they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.' At first we shrink from the strict meaning of these words. We suppose they do not mean that eternal life *is* the knowledge of God, but only that those who obtain that knowledge or that life will retain it through eternity. But when I ask myself, Do I then know what *eternity* is? Do I mean by eternity a certain very, very long time? I am shocked and startled at once by my want of faith and want of reason. Our Lord has been training us by His beautiful blessed teaching to see eternity as something altogether out of time, to connect it with Him who is, and was, and is to come. He has been teaching me, that I have a spirit which cannot rest in time, which must strive after the living, the permanent, the eternal, after God Himself. He has been telling me that He has come to bring me into this state, that He is the way to it. How dare I then depart from His own definition? How dare I impute my own low meaning of 'eternal' to Him, and read myself into His words, when He is raising me to another meaning infinitely more accordant with the witness of my conscience, not involving the contradictions which my own does?"—"Grounds," &c. p. 5.

Strange as it may seem in so awful a subject, this is the only shadow of an argument which can be so discovered through the cloud of misty verbiage in which Mr. Maurice has enveloped it. First, he assumes that those words of our Lord, "This is Eternal Life, that they may know God," are to be taken as a *strict definition* of "Eternal Life." Secondly, he infers from this assumed definition that Eternal Death must be defined to be "ignorance of God." Thirdly, supposing these definitions to be strict and complete definitions, he assumes the entire question by assuming that either one or other of them must exclude the idea of duration; whereas, if the word eternal includes that idea, eternal life must mean that life which lasts for ever, and therefore must imply the *never-ending enjoyment* of the knowledge of God! It is hard to imagine a more arbitrary basis for any conceivable system. And yet this is, stript of its rhetorical garb, the whole framework of the argument by which Mr. Maurice professes to overthrow the received doctrine of the Church upon the most awful of all the questions in Christian theology!

It is elaborated somewhat differently, but in the same substance, in the new Essay.

"Let us consider why it is that the New Testament has more to do with the Eternity than the Old. I think no Christian will differ very widely from me when I answer, 'it is because the living and eternal God is more fully and perfectly revealed in the one

than in the other.' In both He is discovering Himself to men ; in both He is piercing through the mists which conceal Him from them. But in the one He is making Himself known chiefly in His relations to the visible economy of the world ; in the other He is exhibiting His own inward nature, and is delaring Himself as He is in Him who is the brightness of His glory, the express image of His person. Whenever the word *Eternal* is used, then, in the New Testament, it ought first, by all rules of reason, to be considered in reference to God. Its use when it is applied to Him, must determine all its other uses. There must be no shrinking from this rule, no efforts to evade the force of it ; for this is what we agreed to condemn in the Unitarians and Universalists of the last age, that they changed the force of the adjective at their pleasure, so that it might not mean the same in reference to punishment as to life. How can we carry out this rule ? Shall we say that *Eternal* means, in reference to God, 'without beginning or end ?' How then can we affix that meaning to *Eternal*, when we are speaking of man's bliss or misery ? Is that without beginning as well as without end ? 'Oh no ! you must leave out the beginning. That of course has nothing to do with this case.' Who told you so ? How dare you play thus fast and loose with God's word ? How dare you fix the standard by which the signification of a word is to be judged, and reject that very standard a moment after ?

"But are there no better reasons why we should not affix this meaning, 'without beginning and end,' to the word *αἰώνιος* when it is applied in the New Testament to God ? I quite agree that such a meaning might have seemed very natural to an ordinary Greek. The word might have been used in that sense by a classical author, or in colloquial language, without the least impropriety. But just *the* lesson which God had been teaching men by the revelation of Himself was, that mere negatives are utterly unfit to express His being, His substance. From the very first, He had taught His chosen people to look upon Him as the *righteous* Being, to believe that all their righteousness was grounded on His. He had promised them a more complete knowledge of His righteousness. Every true Israelite had looked to this knowledge as his reward, as the deliverance from his enemies, as the satisfaction of his inmost longings, as the great blessing to his nation and to mankind, as well as to himself. His Righteousness, His Truth, His Love, the Jew came more and more to perceive, were the substantial and eternal things, by seeking which he was delivered from the worship of Gods of Time and Sense, as well as from the more miserable philosophical abstraction of a God who is merely a negative of time ; without beginning and without end. Therefore, when the Son was revealed, this is the language in which the beloved disciple speaks,—'The life was manifested, and we have seen it, and we declare unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and which has been manifested unto us.' This is but a

specimen of his uniform language. Yes, and I will be bold to say that his language interprets all the language of the New Testament. The eternal life is the righteousness, and truth, and love of God which are manifested in Christ Jesus; manifested to men that they may be partakers of them, that they may have fellowship with the Father and with the Son. This is held out as the eternal blessedness of those who seek God and love Him. This it is, of which our Lord must have spoken in His last prayer, if he who reports that prayer did not misinterpret His meaning.

"Is it inconsistent, then, with the general object and character of the New Testament, as the manifestation of His love, that Eternity in all its aspects should come before us there as it does nowhere else, that there we should be taught what it means? Is it inconsistent with its scope and object that there, too, we should be taught what the horror and awfulness is, of being without this love, of setting ourselves in opposition to it? Those who would not own Christ in His brethren, who did not visit Him when they were sick and in prison, go away. He said, into eternal or everlasting punishment. Are we affixing a new meaning to these words, or the very meaning which the context demands, the only meaning which is consistent with the force that is given to the adjective by our Lord and His apostles elsewhere, if we say that the eternal punishment is the punishment of being without the knowledge of God, who is love, and of Jesus Christ who has manifested it; even as eternal life is declared to be the having the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ? If it is right, if it is a duty, to say that Eternity in relation to God has nothing to do with time or duration, are we not bound to say that also in reference to life or to punishment, it has nothing to do with time or duration?"—*Essays*, pp. 446-450.

We have transcribed this lengthy extract in order that the reader may see the whole extent of Mr. Maurice's case as regards the meaning of the word "eternal." Our object is simply to show what are the doctrines which, in his capacity of minister of the Church, he desires to inculcate, and which he regards as the only safeguard against the doubts and incredulity with which he represents the faith of the young generation of England as obscured, if not utterly clouded. Dr. Jelf has entered at considerable length, and with much clearness and ability, into the critical and philological argument as to the meaning of the word, in the language of the New Testament. With this we have no present concern, although we have seen and heard enough, even independently of the present controversy, to feel assured that, in the Church of England, and among Protestants generally, the discussion



is of the most vital urgency. It would be easy to show that the fundamental principle on which Mr. Maurice insists:—namely, “that the notion of duration must be excluded from the idea of eternity”—is directly at variance with the Scriptural use of the word; that in no less than fifty-seven passages out of the seventy-one in which it occurs in the New Testament, this notion is *necessarily* involved by the very subject-matter; that, without entering into any metaphysical analysis of the idea, the universal sense of the Christian world has attached to the word this sense, and no other; that the foundation of this universal sense of Christians is precisely that belief, on a misconstruction of which Mr. Maurice has based his own strangely fanciful interpretation; and that it is precisely *because* men believe eternity, as applied to God, necessarily to involve the notion of never-ending duration; and because they find the same word also uniformly applied to the state of the world to come, whether for happiness, or for misery; *therefore* they also believe that the eternity predicated in the Scriptural promises or denunciations in reference to that world to come, must also necessarily involve the same notion of “never-ending duration.” All this it would be easy to show. But, for the present, we shall leave the question between Mr. Maurice and the adversaries with whom he is engaged, contenting ourselves with the function of a mere historian of the controversy.

Although the passages hitherto cited have reference chiefly to Mr. Maurice's views as the philosophical questions regarding the nature of eternity, yet it will have been sufficiently manifest that with him the question is not one of mere speculation, but full of the deepest and most awful practical interest. In truth, this question is only important because of its connection with the doctrine of the future state of rewards and punishments. This is the second, and much more formidable, of Dr. Jelf's accusations.

In his opening letter to Mr. Maurice he had stated that the Essay “appeared to convey a general notion of ultimate salvation to all;” but on this head also, as well as on the former, he speaks much more decidedly at the close of the correspondence, and after having received all the explanations put forward by the accused. The Essay and the letters together, he affirms, unquestionably “hold out the hope that the punishment of wicked, unbelieving, and impenitent sinners, may, after all, not be everlasting.”

He believes that "this hope is set forth with more or less distinctness in more than one part of these writings;" and that "Mr. Maurice appears to look on it as a special part of his mission to inculcate it whenever circumstances may seem to require it."

All this, we are bound to say, Dr. Jelf has fully substantiated.

Mr. Maurice's language, it is true, is not always equally positive and definite.

At one time he contents himself with saying that he "*does not dare to pronounce upon the fact*, that every will in the universe must, in the end, be brought into consent with the Divine will," (*Letter*, p. 16,) and thus that all must be ultimately converted. He "trembles indeed to affirm the contrary, and he thinks any man would." But, though he plainly conveys that in his own mind this is the import of the language used in Scripture regarding the will of God, "nevertheless there is such a darkness over the whole question of the possible resistance of the human will, that he *must be silent, and tremble and adore.*" (*Letter*, p. 16.)

At another time, in like manner, he declares that "he feels it his duty *not to say* how long any one may remain in eternal death, because he does not know;" and again, "*not to say* that all will necessarily be raised out of eternal death, because he does not know." (*Letter to a Friend*, p. 6.)

So again, he protests that "*we do not want theories of Universalism*; they are as cold, hard, unsatisfactory, as all other theories." He refuses to "fall back on the theory of Universal Restitution, which, in his early days, he found unsatisfactory, and which he finds cold and unsatisfactory still."\* And, asking himself how the seeming contradictions of this awful question are to be reconciled, he candidly avows, "I cannot reconcile them. I know no theory which can. But I can trust in Him, who has reconciled the world to Himself. I can leave all in His hands. I dare not fix any limits to the power of His love. I cannot tell what are the limits to the power of a rebel will. I know that no man can be blessed, except his will is in accordance with God's will. I know it must be by an action on the will that love triumphs. Though I have no faith in man's theory of Universal Restitution, I am

\* *Letter to a Friend.* In Dr. Jelf's Pamphlet, p. 7.

taught to expect a 'restitution of all things, which God, who cannot lie, has promised since the world began.' I am obliged to believe that we are living in a restored order. I am sure that restored order will be carried out by the full triumph of God's loving will. How that should take place while any rebellious will remains in the universe, I cannot tell, though it is not for me to say that it is impossible. I do not want to say it. I wish to trust God absolutely, and not to trust in any conclusion of my own understanding at all."

But notwithstanding this seeming assumption of neutrality, he, in other places, conveys very significantly, if he does not openly declare, not merely that the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments is shrouded in a mystery too awful to penetrate, but that it is irreconcilable with "the clear broad assertion of the divine charity which the Bible makes." In the very same breath in which he avers that he wants no theories of Universalism, he lays down a theory which it is only a mockery to call by any other name.

"We do not want theories of universalism; they are as cold, hard, unsatisfactory, as all other theories. But we want that clear, broad assertion of the divine charity which the Bible makes, and which carries us immeasurably beyond all that we can ask or think. What dreams of ours can reach to the assertion of St. John, that Death and Hell themselves shall be cast into the lake of fire? I cannot fathom the meaning of such expressions. But they are written; I accept them, and give thanks for them. I feel there is an abyss of death into which I may sink and be lost. Christ's Gospel reveals an abyss of love below that; I am content to be lost in that. I know no more, but I am sure that there is a woe on us if we do not preach this Gospel, if we do not proclaim the name of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit,—the Eternal Charity. Whenever we do proclaim that name, I believe we invade the realm of night and of eternal death, and open the kingdom of heaven."—[*Essays*, pp. 442, 443.]

What is the meaning of the allusion to St. John's assertion, that Death and Hell shall themselves be cast into the lake of fire? What means the "abyss of love which Christ reveals below the abyss of death, in which we may sink and be lost?" Does it not clearly imply a belief on the part of the writer, that even after a Christian has been lost in the abyss of death, or, in other words, consigned to hell itself, there yet remains for him, below and beyond

that abyss of death, an abyss of love, in which he may still hope to find refuge? And is not this to hold out a distinct hope that even those who pass into the depths of hell shall still find God's unexhausted love prepared to receive them into mercy?

There is one statement of Mr. Maurice in reference to this subject which we do not think it proper to overlook. In arguing against the blasphemous limitation of God's mercy to sinners, which, as he conceives, is involved in the popular doctrine of endless punishment, he attributes to this very doctrine the secessions to Rome which of late years have become so numerous. "It cannot be denied," he says, "that men are escaping to Rome in search of a purgatory, because they see in that some token that God is merciful to His creatures, that the whole mass of human beings in our streets and alleys, whom we have overlooked and neglected, hundreds of the population of all the continental countries,—most of the American slaves, besides the whole body of Turks, Hindoos, Hottentots, Jews, will not sink for ever into hopeless destruction, while a few persons, some of whom are living comfortably eating their dinners, and riding in their carriages, without any vexation of heart, may, by special mercy, be delivered." This is one of many examples of gross misapprehension, or misrepresentation, of the doctrine of our Church, with which these essays abound. Our doctrine of purgatory, as such, could not by possibility be applied to the case of such persons as this passage contemplates. All that we venture to affirm regarding the mystery of God's mercy to the neglected classes here enumerated, and to all others in similar spiritual destitution, applies exclusively to their condition during their earthly career. Our doctrine of purgatory not only applies exclusively to the condition of souls after death, but is confined to those who, although imperfect, yet have departed from life free from the guilt of mortal sin. No Catholic would ever dream, as Mr. Maurice here imputes to us, of holding out hope of ultimate salvation to any soul, which, no matter what may have been its condition, no matter what its circumstances in reference to spiritual enlightenment, during life, yet was found at the last awful hour, sinful and impenitent. What is the measure of God's justice, what the limit of His mercy, in His dealings with the myriads of souls comprised in the classes here enumerated, we do not venture

to pronounce. But the measure, whether of tenderness, or of rigour, which we may mete in this judgment, is utterly without reference to our doctrine of purgatory. Every Catholic receives the awful doctrine of the eternity of the pains of hell with as firm a faith, as he accepts the consoling assurances of the eternity of the bliss of heaven ; and in truth, the Catholic doctrine of purgatory, so far from trenching upon the faith of the endlessness of punishment, is, on the contrary, the best guarantee for its humble and unhesitating acceptance.

But passing from this vindication of ourselves, we must allow Mr. Maurice to explain his views still further.

“ I cannot wonder that Divines, even those who would shrink with horror from such a view of God’s character and His Gospel as this, should crave for some more distinct apprehensions, nay, even statements respecting eternal punishment, than might perhaps be needful in former days.—‘ It is quite clear, that the words which go forth from our pulpits on the subject, have no effect at all upon cultivated men of any class, except the effect of making them regard our other utterances with indifference and disbelief.’ They do not think that we put faith in our own denunciations. They ask, how it is possible for us to go about and enjoy life if we do ; how, if we do, we can look out upon the world that is around us and the world that has been, without cursing the day on which we were born ? They say that we pronounce a general sentence, and then explain it away in each particular case ; they say, that we believe that God condemns the world generally, but that under cover of certain phrases which may mean anything or nothing, we can prove that, on the whole, He rather intends it good than ill. They say, that we call upon them to praise Him and give Him thanks, and that what we mean is, that they are to testify emotions towards Him which they do not feel, and which His character, as we represent it, cannot inspire, in order to avert His wrath from them. Cultivated men, I say, repeat these things to one another. If we do not commonly hear them, it is because they count it rude ever to tell us what they think. Poor men say these same things in their own assemblies with more breadth and honesty, not wishing us to be ignorant of their opinions respecting us. And though these considerations, so far as they concern ourselves, may not move us, how can we help being moved by their effect on those who utter them ? ‘ If we believe that the words *Eternal Damnation* or *Death* have a very terrible significance, such as the Bible tells us they have, is it nothing that they should be losing all their significance for our countrymen ? Is it nothing that they should seem to them mere idle nursery-words that frighten children, but with which men have nothing to do ?’ Is it nothing, that a vague

dream of bliss hereafter into which righteousness and goodness do not enter, which has no relation to God, should float before the minds of numbers, but that it should have just as little power to awaken them to any higher or better life, as the dread of the future has to keep them from any evil?

"The members of the Evangelical Alliance perceive, more or less clearly, that this is the state of things which has increased and is increasing, among us. They hear of a vague Universalism being preached from some pulpits in America and on the Continent. They think that notion must encourage sinners to suppose that a certain amount of punishment will be enough to clear off their scores, and to procure them ultimate bliss. 'You are relaxing the strictness of your statements,' they say, 'just when they need to be more stringent, because all moral obligations are becoming laxer, because people are evidently casting off their fear, without obtaining anything better in the place of it.' Therefore they conclude that such freedom must be checked. It cannot answer, they think, now, however it may have answered heretofore, to leave any loop-hole for doubt about the endless punishment of the wicked.

"I have stated the arguments which I think may have inclined worthy and excellent men to arrive at this conclusion; though I believe a more fatal one, one more certain to undermine the truth which is in their hearts, and which they are seeking to defend, cannot be imagined. We do, it seems to me, need to have a more distinct and awful idea of eternal death and eternal punishment than we have. I use both words, *Death* and *Punishment*, that I may not appear to shrink from the sense which is contained in either. Punishment, I believe, seems to most men less dreadful than death, because they cannot separate it from a punisher, because they believe, however faintly, that He who is punishing them is a Father. The thought of His ceasing to punish them, of His letting them alone, of His leaving them to themselves, is the real, the unutterable horror. A man may be living without God in the world, he may be trembling at His Name, sometimes wishing that He did not exist; and yet, if you told him that he was going where there would be no God, no one to watch over him, no one to care for him, the news would be almost intolerable. We do shrink from this; all men, whatever they may fancy, are more appalled at the thoughts of being friendless, homeless, fatherless, than at any outward terrors you can threaten them with. I know well how the conscience confuses this anticipation with that of meeting God, with being brought face to face with Him. The mixture of feelings adds infinitely to the horror of them. There is a sense of wrath abiding on the spirit which has refused the yoke of love. This is one part of the misery. There is a sense of loneliness and atheism. This is another. And surely this, this is the bottomless pit which men see before them, and to which they feel that they are hurrying, when they have led selfish lives, and are growing harder, and



colder, and darker, every hour. Can we not tell them that it is even so, that this is the abyss of death, that second death, of which all material images offer only the faintest picture? Will not that show them more clearly what life is, the risen life, the eternal life, that which was with the Father, and has been manifested to us? Will it not enable us to say, 'This life is that for which God has created man, for which He has redeemed man in His Son, which He is sending His Spirit to work out in man?' Will it not enable us to say, 'This eternal death is that from which God sent His Son to deliver men, from which He has delivered them? If they fall into it, it is because they choose it, because they embrace it, because they resist a power which is always at work to save them from it.' By delivering such a message as this to men, should we not be doing more to make them aware how the revelation of God's righteousness for the redemption of sinners is at the time the revelation of the wrath of God against all unrighteousness and ungodliness? Would not such a message show that a Gospel of eternal love must bring out more clearly than any mere law can, that state which is the resistance to it and the contradiction of it? But would not such a message at the same time present itself to the conscience of men not as an outrage on their experience, but as the faithful interpreter of it, not as disproving everything that they have dreamed of the willingness of God to save them, but as proving that He is willing and able to save them to the very uttermost?

"Suppose, instead of taking this method of asserting the truth of all God's words, the most blessed and the most tremendous, we reject the wisdom of our forefathers and enact an article declaring that *all are heretics and deniers of the truth, who do not hold that Eternal means endless, and that there cannot be a deliverance from eternal punishment. What is the consequence? Simply this, I believe: the whole Gospel of God is set aside.* The state of eternal life and eternal death is not one we can refer only to the future, or that we can in anywise identify with the future. Every man who knows what it is to be in a state of sin, knows what it is to have been in a state of death. He cannot connect that death with time; he must say that Christ has brought him out of the bonds of *eternal* death. Throw that idea into the future and you deprive it of all its reality, of all its power. I know what it means all too well while you let me connect it with my present and personal being, with the pangs of conscience which I suffer now. It becomes a mere vague dream and shadow to me, when you project it into a distant world. And if you take from me the belief that God is always righteous, always maintaining a fight with evil, always seeking to bring His creatures out of it, you take everything from me; all hope now, all hope in the world to come. Atonement, Redemption, Satisfaction, Regeneration, become mere words to which there is no counterpart in reality."—*Essays*, pp. 470-6.

We have thought it right to give this long and most important passage without curtailment, because it contains the final and deliberate expressions of the views of the author. It forms part of the Essay "On Eternal Life and Eternal Death," as it stands after the conclusion of his correspondence with Dr. Jelf, and after the formal sentence of the council of his college. It is fearful to think of the picture which the writer draws of the state of the popular mind in England in reference to this awful question: but we fear it is impossible to shut our eyes to its justice and fidelity. We can well understand how, with the views which he entertains, Mr. Maurice is but too glad to throw himself, not alone in this, but in every other "hard saying," into the ready and comfortable expedient of an expansive formulary, and to retain his hold upon the murmurers by assuring them that their murmuring is not inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel which he preaches. And, in truth, his appeal, in the conclusion of this Essay, is not so much for the acceptance of the doctrine which he has been advocating, as for its toleration, or, to speak more precisely, its non-condemnation. "Have we made up our minds," he asks, "to surrender it? Have we resolved that the belief in Endless Punishment shall be not *a tenet* which any one is at liberty to hold,—as any one is at liberty to hold the notion that the elements are changed in the Lord's Supper, provided he does not force the notion upon me, and will come with me to eat of a feast which is beyond all notions,—but *the tenet* of the Church to which every other is subordinate; just as Transubstantiation has become in the Romish Church since it has been declared essential to all who partake of the Eucharist? Let us consider, not chiefly what we are accepting, but what we are rejecting, before we tamely submit to this new imposition."

The doctrines which have led to his embroilment with the authorities of his college, are all derived from one single Essay. No other besides this came directly under their consideration. We have dwelt upon it at greater length than any of the others, because of the interest which it thus created. But many of the other Essays are equally liable to objection; there is hardly one of them which, to use Dr. Jelf's phrase, has not "thrown an atmosphere of doubt" on its subject; and, indeed, the principles which pervade the entire volume, and the system of

interpretation on which its theology is based, are such as to withdraw all the recognized securities of doctrinal exactness. We may instance the very Dedication itself, (to the poet, Tennyson,) as a curious illustration, at once of the vague and dreamy character of the writer's principles, and of the unsoundness and perilousness of his system. To assert, as is there done, as a fundamental maxim, that "*a Theology which does not correspond to the deepest thoughts and feelings of human beings, cannot be a true Theology*:"—what is it but either to reduce theology to a mass of wild and visionary speculations, or to open the way to a more subtle and refined, and therefore more perilous Rationalism? What are these "deepest thoughts and feelings of human beings?" How are they to be ascertained? From Scripture? From authority? Has one individual a right to fix his "deepest thoughts and feelings" as the standard for any other? Or rather, must it not, from the very nature of such a test, be left to each individual to decide for himself, irrespectively of every external authority? What has there ever been in the maddest visions of Swedenborg, or Zinzendorf, which might not be defended by such a standard of orthodoxy?

To turn, however, to particular doctrines;—what could be more painful than the manner in which, in accordance with this fantastic system, he refines away the sublime doctrine of our Lord's Atonement? He begins by admitting that there are grave and earnest protests against much of "what is called *our* doctrine of the Atonement."

"'You hold,' it is said, 'that God had condemned all His creatures to perish, because they had broken His law; that His justice could not be satisfied without an infinite punishment; that that infinite punishment would have visited all men, if Christ in His mercy to men had not interposed and offered Himself as the substitute for them; that by enduring an inconceivable amount of anguish, He reconciled the Father, and made it possible for Him to forgive those who would believe. This whole statement,' the objector continues, 'is based on a certain notion of justice. It professes to explain, on certain principles of justice, what God ought to have done, and what He actually has done. And this notion of justice outrages the conscience to which you seem to offer your explanation. You often feel that it does. You admit that it is not the kind of justice which would be expected of men. And then you turn round and ask us what we can know of God's justice; how we can tell that it is of the same kind with ours? After arguing with us, to show the necessity of a certain course,

you say that the argument is good for nothing ; we are not capable of taking it in ! Or else you say that the carnal mind cannot understand spiritual ideas. We can only answer, We prefer our carnal notion of justice to your spiritual one. We can forgive a fellow-creature a wrong done to us, without exacting an equivalent for it ; we blame ourselves if we do not ; we think we are offending against Christ's command, who said, '*Be merciful as your Father in Heaven is merciful,*' if we do not. We do not feel that punishment is a satisfaction to our minds ; we are ashamed of ourselves when we consider it is. We may suffer a criminal to be punished, but it is that we may do him good, or assert a principle. And if that is our object, we do not suffer an innocent person to prevent the guilty from enduring the consequences of his guilt, by taking them upon himself. Are these maxims moral, or are the opposing maxims moral ? If they are moral, should we, because God is much more righteous than we can imagine or understand, suppose that His acts are at variance with them ? Should we attribute to Him what would be unrighteousness in us ?

"These questions are asked on all sides of us. Clergymen are exceedingly anxious to stifle them. 'We know,' they say, 'by experience whither such doubts are leading. The objector begins with disputing some views of the Atonement, which may perhaps be extreme. He goes on to deny the doctrine itself ; to say that it has no place in the scheme of Christianity. He knows, however, that his fathers held it to be a vital doctrine. He suspects that it is in the Bible. The end is, that he denies the Bible itself.' Such a conclusion may well startle a good man. He feels that principles which his experience has proved to be infinitely precious are in hazard. He has never visited the dying bed of a humble penitent who did not cling to the cross of Christ as her dearest hope, who did not feel that without His sacrifice and death she could have no peace. He asks whether he is to rob the poor and meek of these jewels because certain proud men do not like the casket which contains them, because they cannot bring the teachings of the Bible to the level of their understandings ?"—Essays, 137-9.

It will be seen that the difficulties or protests here detailed, are directed precisely against those notions of the Satisfaction of Christ which the Scriptures present to us, and which every orthodox writer regards, as entering into its very essence :—the infinite debt due, on the part of man, to God's justice ; Christ's voluntary substitution of Himself in their place ; and His reconciling them to His Father by the sufferings and death He endured for them.

Now how does Mr. Maurice deal with these protests ? Does he attempt to show that they are unjust or groundless ? Does he vindicate against them those great and

fundamental principles of the Christian theory of the Satisfaction? Let us see.

"The broad simple Gospel, that God has set forth His Son as the propitiation for sin, that He has offered Himself for the sins of the world, meets all the desires of these heart-stricken sinners. It declares to them the fulness of God's love, sets forth the Mediator in whom they are at one with the Father. It brings divine Love and human suffering into direct and actual union. It shows Him who is one with God and one with man, perfectly giving up that self-will which had been the cause of all men's crimes and all their misery. Here is indeed a brazen serpent to which one dying from the bite of the old serpent can look and be healed. The more that brazen serpent is lifted up, the more may we look for health and renovation to the whole of humanity, and to every one of its palsied and withered limbs."—*Essays*, pp. 140-1.

Vague and general, and unsatisfying as is this statement of the great dogma of Christianity, it satisfies all Mr. Maurice's requirements. True to the principles laid down in the Dedication, he admits that "the humble penitent clings to the cross of Christ as his dearest hope;" because this notion of the Sacrifice corresponds with "his deepest thoughts and feelings." But beyond this he will not go; because this is sufficient to "meet all the desires of these heart-stricken sinners!" And he deliberately lays down this principle as a decisive test, not merely in reference to remote consecratories and conclusions from the doctrine of the Atonement, but even in reference to those principles already alluded to, which, as we have said, enter into its very essence. Still speaking of these "protests," he continues:—

"But is the clergyman who preaches this gospel, and sees the effect of it upon some of his flock, therefore bound to adopt those conclusions respecting the reasons of Christ's death, which have so shocked the conscience of the sceptic whom he is condemning? Properly speaking, his business is simply to proclaim the good news of reconciliation. Reasons may occur to him besides those which the Bible gives us. Some may be plausible, some may be tolerable. But they do not belong to the essence of its commission. Woe be to him, if he mistakes the best of them for that which it tries to account for. Since, however, it is inevitable that his understanding and imagination will be busy with this and every other subject divine or human that he handles, it is very necessary that he should perceive what conclusions of theirs may contradict the truth which God has committed to him. For this purpose, I would beseech him to observe carefully which portions of his statements

come home to the hearts of the really humble and contrite—which afford delight and satisfaction to the conceited, self-righteous, self-exalting men and women of his flock, who in ease and health think that they are safe, because they are condemning others, who in sickness and on a death-bed discover that in seeming to believe everything, they have actually believed nothing.”—Essays, pp. 141—42.

So that, in deference “to the conscience of the sceptic,” the doctrine of the Atonement is to be pared down to a “simple proclamation of the good news of reconciliation!” We are no longer to believe that “God’s offended justice demanded an infinite punishment; that that infinite punishment would have visited all men, had not Christ interposed and offered Himself as the substitute; and that He, by His sufferings, reconciled the Father!” We are not to “believe that Christ rescued us out of the hand of God by paying the penalty of sin.” (p. 145.) We are not to “tolerate that notion of God, which represents Him as satisfied by the punishment of sin!” (p. 147.)

In place of all these clear and intelligible views, we are to accept, as better “corresponding to the deepest thoughts and feelings of human beings,” such vague and vapid *voces et præterea nihil* as the following summary of his own ideas.

“Supposing all these principles gathered together; supposing the Father’s will to be a will to all good;—supposing the Son of God, being one with Him, and Lord of man, to obey and fulfil in our flesh that will by entering into the lowest condition into which men have fallen through their sin;—supposing this Man to be, for this reason, an object of continual complacency to His Father, and that complacency to be fully drawn out by the Death of the Cross;—supposing His death to be a Sacrifice, the only complete sacrifice ever offered, the entire surrender of the whole spirit and body to God; is not this, in the highest sense, Atonement? Is not the true, sinless root of Humanity revealed; is not God in Him reconciled to man? Is not the Cross the meeting point between man and man, between man and God? Is not this meeting point what men, in all times and places, have been seeking for? Did any find it till God declared it? And are not we bringing our understandings to the foot of this Cross, when we solemnly abjure all schemes and statements, however sanctioned by the arguments of divines, however plausible as implements of declamation, which prevent us from believing and proclaiming that in it all the wisdom and truth and glory of God were manifested to the creature; that in it man is presented as a holy and acceptable sacrifice to the Creator?”—Essays, pp. 147—48.



With our knowledge of Mr. Maurice's notions regarding the Atonement, we need not be prepared to expect any extraordinary strictness on the general question of creeds. It is impossible to mistake the tendency of suggestions like the following.

"But I know why many will think that such a course may have been adapted to former days, and yet be unsuitable for ours. I shall be told 'that it was very well to speak of Charity, divine or human, when the importance of dogmas and of distinguishing between orthodox and heretical dogmas, was admitted, nay, if that is possible, exaggerated; but that now, when all dogmatic teachings are scorned, not by a few here and there, but by the spirit of the age; when it is the minority who plead for them and feel their necessity; and when the popular cry is for some union of parties in which all barriers, theological, nay, it would seem sometimes, moral also, shall be thrown down:—at such a time to speak of putting Charity above Faith, or of referring to Charity as a standard for Faith, is either to palter with words in a double sense, pretending that you agree with the infidel, while you keep a reserved opinion in your own heart which would repel him if you produced it;—or else it is to give up your arms to him, owing that he is vanquished.'

"I feel as strongly as these objectors can feel, that this age is impatient of distinctions—of the distinction between Right and Wrong, as well as of that between Truth and Falsehood. Of all its perils, this seems to me the greatest, that which alone gives us a right to tremble at any others which may be threatening it. To watch against this temptation in ourselves, and in all over whom we have any charge or influence, is, I believe, our highest duty. In performance of it, I should always denounce the glorification of private judgment, as fatal to the belief in Truth, and to the pursuit of it. We are always *tending* towards the notion that we may think what we like to think; that there is no standard to which our thoughts should be conformed; that they fix their own standard. Who can toil to find, that which, on this supposition, he can make? Who can suffer, that all may share a possession which each man holds apart from his neighbour?

"But Dogmatism is not the antagonist of private judgment. The most violent assertor of his private judgment is the greatest dogmatist. And, conversely, the loudest assertor of the dogmatical authority of the Church, is very apt to be the most vehement and fanatical stickler for his own private judgments. His reverence for the Church leads him to exercise in his individual capacity, what he takes to be her function in her collective capacity. He catches what he supposes to be her spirit. He becomes, in consequence, of all men, the most headstrong and self-willed. There must be some

other escape than this from the evils of our time ; this road leads us into the very heart of them.

"It seems to me that, if we start from the belief,—'Charity is the ground and centre of the Universe, God is Charity,'—we restore that distinctness which our Theology is said to have lost,' we reconcile it with the comprehension which we are all in search of.—'So long as we are busy with our theories, notions, feelings about God—so long as these constitute our divinity—we must be vague, we must be exclusive.' One deduces his conclusions from the Bible; one from the decrees of the Church; one from his individual consciousness. But the reader of the Bible confesses that it appeals to experience, and must in some way be tested by it; the greatest worshipper of the Church asks for a Bible to support its authority; the greatest believer in his own consciousness perceives that there must be some means of connecting it with the general conscience of mankind. Each denounces the other's method, none is satisfied with his own. If Theology is regarded not as a collection of our theories about God, but as a declaration of His will and His acts towards us, will it not conform more to what we find in the Bible—will it not more meet all the experiences of individuals, all the experiences of our race? And to come directly to the point of the objection which I am considering, will it not better expound all the special articles which our own Church, and the Christian Church generally, confesses? This at least is my belief."—*Essays*, pp. 7—10.

The obvious effect of this, and many similar statements, more or less distinct, is to depreciate the importance of dogma in religion, and to substitute, for the bond of doctrinal uniformity, and for distinctness of doctrinal belief, the vague and generic notion of a society of spirit, and a bond of mutual charity. It is plain, indeed, from several distinct declarations, that in his eyes truth is subjective rather than objective; that the theology for which he seeks, and which he considers necessary for mankind, is not a collection of objective truths for all, but a body of subjective convictions for each individual.

"I submit this remark to the earnest consideration of all classes of Unitarians, but especially of those who are becoming discontented with the tenets of their forefathers. They very naturally argue in this way,—'We cannot bear the yoke which is upon our necks already. You would put a heavier one upon them. We have been beaten with rods; you would beat us with scorpions.' The other Dissenters press the same argument upon their disciples: 'You complain of us for compelling you to accept dogmas which you do not feel to be reasonable, nay, even for preventing you from appealing to Scripture against them, because, after a congregation

or school has accepted a certain interpretation of Scripture, it is bound by that. What would become of you, then, if you, were connected with a Church which formally and avowedly holds its members to a certain Creed?' I am not careful to answer this argument. I am a very bad proselytizer.—'If I could persuade all Dissenters to become members of my Church to-morrow, I should be very sorry to do it;' I believe the chances are, they might leave it the next day.—'I do not wish to make them think as I think.' But I want that 'they and I should be what we pretend to be,' and then I doubt not we should find that there is a common ground for us all far beneath our thinkings. For truth I hold not to be that which every man troweth, but to be that which lies at the bottom of all men's throwings, that in which those throwings have their only meeting point. But what I cannot and would not do, I believe the experience of a great many Dissenters will do for them. They will be driven to Creeds by their weariness of tenets. They will find that they are at the mercy of every tyrannical congregation, of its wealthiest member, of every dogmatist who rules a school, of the public opinion of the sect which rules him. They will be compelled to ask, 'How does this happen? Is there no escape from these oppressive judgments of human beings,—no escape, but into absolute doubt and denial? not even an escape into *them*,—for what intolerant dogmatists there are among doubters and deniers!' If they want freedom for their reason and wills, the old Creed speaks of One who came to deliver them. If they feel that the language of Scripture cannot be tied down by the language of a formula, Creeds oblige us to look out of themselves to some book which shall unfold the person and the acts of Him of whom they are bearing witness. They never can put themselves in the place of our reason or of Scripture, till their words are perverted, and the sense of them contradicted. Why there should be such documents in the world, I can explain no more than I can explain why any part of the order of Nature should exist, or why it should be in harmony with any other part. I find it so. I give God thanks that it is so. I hope, in the day when He is revealed, and we are all called to answer for the use or abuse we have made of His gifts, that He will enable us to enter more fully into this and many other mysteries of His government, which I understand most imperfectly, but which have helped me to understand myself."—*Essays*, pp. 315—17.

We find precisely the same avowal in other places. He has an evident sympathy with all men as long as they are "uttering the deepest conviction of their own hearts." (p. 396.) He accepts the teaching even of the wildest fanatics and visionaries, as long as it bears this passport.

"But if these words are openly proclaimed, what a plentiful

crop of ranters and fanatics shall we have ! What crowds will run after them ; for who then will have a right to deny their inspiration ? A dreadful prospect ! But is it a prospect ? Have we not the fanatics and ranters already ? Do they not draw disciples after them ? You have tried to weaken their influence by telling them that the Bible was the Inspired book ; that it is utterly absurd and extravagant for men in these days to call themselves inspired ; that the same course has been tried in former times, and has always led to ruin. There is great apparent justification for this method ; it has been used often by very ingenious and sagacious men, with whom it ought to have succeeded, if it was to succeed. But it has not succeeded. It has not cured the immediate evil which it was meant to cure ; it has left the seeds which produced that evil always ready for fresh germination. And what is worse, this kind of treatment has destroyed precious seeds, which God has planted in men's hearts, and which they cannot afford to lose. You long to expose the impostor, the mountebank, who is deceiving a number of poor simple souls. *But do you desire that the earnest, cordial faith, which has been called forth in them, while they are following him, should be taken from them ?* Do you desire that those fervent hopes, kindled for the first time in men who have been crawling all their days on the earth and eating dust, should be put out for ever ?"—Essays, pp. 346-7.

Still wider the basis laid down in the following passage.

"I do not indeed say that this witness must come from us alone, perhaps not from us chiefly. *Let it come from where it will, God must be the author of it.* He may see fit to bring this truth with mighty power to the heart of some Italian monk, who has been seeking in vain to make himself holy, and discovers that holiness must come from a Spirit or Holiness, who is also a spirit of Unity. It may come to some Romish Bishop as he listens to the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and believes that the sevenfold gifts are intended for him. It may come to some earnest member of a Protestant sect, feeling that the Spirit of Truth cannot be the Spirit of narrowness. It may come to some man lying outside of all churches and sects, and asking whether he can be intended to be only a part of an unsympathising, forlorn world. To whichever it comes first, the faith will pass rapidly, as by an electrical chain, from one to another. It will break through all barriers of opinion and circumstance. None will know how he has received it, because all will have received it from that Spirit who bloweth where He listeth, and of whom you cannot say whence He cometh or whither He goeth."—Essays, pp. 407-8.

We shall not be surprised, therefore, to find, that in the Essay on the Unity of the Church, the notion of external unity is utterly discarded. It is not merely that the idea

"that forms and professions constitute a Church is disclaimed;" that the principle that "external badges mean the same thing as an indwelling spirit," is denounced as "wicked trifling." (p. 386.) He traces all the failures, and shortcomings, and crimes of Rome, to the want of practical faith in the profession which she makes in "an indwelling spirit, a spirit of truth and power, which is to bind all together, and enable her to rule the nations," (p. 399.) To the same unbelief he attributes all the sins of Protestant National Churches, (p. 401.) And he distinctly maintains, that through all the crimes, and all the sins of both, the Church has subsisted, and still continues to subsist. "It would be the utter uprooting of our faith," he says, "if we found that there was no such body as the Apostles told us there should be, with which all lying and contention should be at war; if there was no spirit dwelling in that body against which these heresies, and corruptions, and Antichrists are fighting, and which will at last prevail against them. Romanists, Protestant nations, all sects, declare that *there is such a body, and that there is such a Spirit*. Their words bear witness of it; their crimes, which outrage these words, bear witness of it still more."

We must confess, nevertheless, that we have sought in vain for any clue to the understanding of his own theory on the subject. He discards every known and received theory; as well the theory of one universal Church, with a recognized centre, as that of distinct national Churches, each bound together by its own laws and formularies. But he gives no intelligible substitute for the schemes which he explodes; nothing beyond vague and dreamy generalities like those which we have cited; nothing beyond some imaginary Church of the Future, for which the present and all past Churches have been but a crude preparation; nothing beyond some wild and fanciful hope of a coming day, "when the bells of our Churches shall indeed

‘Ring out the darkness of the land;  
Ring in the Christ that is to be!’”

The same vagueness and indefiniteness pervade all these Essays, even those which are least objectionable. Words and phrases consecrated to orthodox use are freely retained; the substance of the doctrine which these phrases were de-

signed to embody, is frittered and refined away. No one, for example, could appear more strong than Mr. Maurice in the assertion of the great Christian dogma of the Judgment, and in his estimate of its moral effect upon men's minds and hearts. "It was their strength in prosperity and in calamity." It "saved them from floating with the current of the times when it was gentle—from being swept away by it when it was strong." (p. 293.) But when he comes to explain his theory of the Judgment, it resolves itself into the simple belief of God's presence in all places; His knowledge of all our acts; His perpetual supervision of our whole life, from the cradle to the grave; and that constant responsibility to Him, and to His law, of which we cannot rid ourselves, no matter how we desire it. This is the kernel of the dogma; all the rest is but the shell. The popular idea of a Final Judgment is but "a fanciful picture of a great assize, to which all ages and nations shall be summoned" (p. 291.)—the "old story of Minos and Rhadamanthus." (p. 300.) In its stead Mr. Maurice gives us shadowy speculations like the following:—

"It is impossible, without violating the laws of my being, the eternal order and constitution of things, that I should separate myself from Christ. He is the Lord of my own self, of my spirit; whether I confess Him or not I must continually hear His voice, be open to His reproofs. Wherever I am, whatever I am doing, He must be there; He must be the standard of my acts; the right in them must be that which has originated in Him,—the wrong must be the revolt from Him. No present or possible conditions of our being can change this order. Death, it has been proved, does not dissolve our relation to Him; He has entered into it for us. The Resurrection from the dead is a resurrection for us as well as for Him; it has vindicated man's true condition, not subverted it. The Ascension, if we admit it to be a fact, not a mere idea, proves, as I urged in the last Essay, not that we are divided from Him, but that place cannot divide us; that we are spirits; that when we act as if we belonged to the bodies which we are meant to rule, we stoop knowingly, and are condemned by our consciences. Such a doctrine, I said, so far from being at variance with the facts of history and the laws of the physical universe, is confirmed by both. History shows how confident men have been in all times that they were meant to ascend above their earthly conditions, and to have fellowship with an unseen world; their noblest dreams have had this origin,—their wildest and most degrading superstitious have arisen from their incapacity to claim what they felt was their right. Physical science shows how many violations of true and divine laws men commit when they become slaves of their bodies,



and into what ignorance they fall when they accept the testimony of their senses as determining those laws; in either case they are evidently not obeying reason, but setting it at naught. What follows? This exclusion of Christ from the eyes of sense is not, as men fancy, an interruption of that judgment which He, as Lord of their spirits, is continually pronouncing; they are not less in His presence, open to His clear, all-penetrating vision, now, than if He were walking in their streets. The disciples who accompanied Him when He journeyed from Galilee to Jerusalem, and sometimes were amazed at the mystery of His being, and at His knowledge of their thoughts, understood first when He was parted from them how entirely independent that being and that knowledge were of the accidents which then surrounded Him,—how much these accidents had interfered with their recognition of Him. As long as they had any notion that they stood to Him only in the peculiar relation of disciples to a Master, as long as *that* relation seemed to them an external fleshly relation, they wanted the real awe and check, as well as the real help and support, of His presence. It was when they understood that this relation was common to them with a multitude of persons nowise bound to them by kindred, occupation, race; it was when they learnt that the real bond between a disciple and a Lord is not a visible, but an invisible one, that they exercised themselves to have consciences void of offence, being certain that all things were naked and open to the eyes of Him with whom they had to do, and that to be reproved by Him was a far more serious thing than to be reproved by Sanhedrims or Proconsuls. The Creed, then, affirms, for you, and me, and mankind, first of all this discovery of theirs,—that Christ, ascended on high at the right hand of God, is our judge, the judge of the living and the dead. I do not say that this is all which the words signify; I do not think so; but I say that whatever else they signify, they signify this, and that we never can enter into the other part of their signification if we do not acknowledge this as the groundwork of it. And though this meaning may be latent in our popular discourses on a great judgment day,—and I have no doubt it is,—I cannot think that the hearers or readers of those discourses commonly detect it; they suppose that they are, at some distant, unknown period, to be brought into the presence of One who is far from them now, and who is not now fulfilling the Office of a Judge, whatever other may be committed to Him.”—*Essays*, pp. 294-7.

In order to pare down the great Christian doctrine of the judgment to these attenuated notions, he does not scruple to explain away the most solemn and awful language, not alone of the Creed, but of the Scripture itself. The fearful words of our Divine Redeemer are wrung from their natural and obvious meaning without scruple,—the language of St. Paul is most violently distorted, the bet-

ter to be accommodated to these rationalistic views. How can any limit ever be placed to what has been not inaptly called the *dis*-interpretation of Scripture, if men once accept such views of its most awful truths as are disclosed in the elaborate and ingenious expositions of the doctrine of St. Paul on the Judgment, which Mr. Maurice endeavours to put forward as a key to the more profound meaning locked up within the figurative prediction of our Redeemer? We have perhaps wearied our readers' patience already by the number and length of our extracts; but this, both for itself, and for the principles which it involves, is too important to be overlooked.

"What is the office of a Judge? If we follow the popular representations of the great Assize, we should conclude that it was fulfilled when certain persons were subjected to an infinite penalty for their transgressions, and certain others were absolved from that penalty,—perhaps acquired, by some means, an infinite reward. It is obvious that those who make these statements, *intend* to accommodate themselves to the ordinary maxims of men; to those which are recognized in earthly jurisprudence. They rightly assume that there must be an analogy between the divine procedure and that which we own to be righteous here. 'The difference of degree,' they would say, 'does not prevent the inspired writers, and ought not, therefore, to prevent us, from resorting to the same language to represent both.' I fully accept this statement, and, therefore, I would put it to any English jurist, whether such an account of the function of a judge as this satisfies any conception that he has formed of it? Would not he say at once, 'It is a very secondary part of this function to assign penalties or rewards: that, in a majority of cases, is done already by the law which the judge announces. But to discern who is right and who is wrong; amidst a multitude of shifting, distracting appearances, to find out the fact; to detect the lie which is hidden under the plausible coherent story; to justify the true and honest purpose which may have got itself bewildered in a variety of complications and contradictions,—*hic labor, hoc opus*; here is, indeed, a sphere for the exercise of that judicial faculty, which we all esteem so highly,—scarcely any of us enough.' And I am certain we shall find that, when the Scriptures speak of a divine Judge, it is *this* correspondence, *this* analogy that they mainly suggest to us. You hear of the Word of God, who is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword; who divides asunder soul and spirit, joints and marrow, who is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart. You hear St. Paul declaring that though he is not conscious of anything against himself, he does not judge himself, but he that judgeth him is the

Lord. You find him using, in the same passage, the remarkable expression which occurs again and again in his writings, and to which I shall have to refer presently for another purpose, that it is a very little thing for him to be judged by a *human day*. Such an expression, so strikingly denoting the kind of light which men were able to throw upon the secrets of the heart, is a key to thousands of others in the New Testament—nay, I will be bold to say—a key to the language of the Bible, wherever there is an allusion to the judgments of God, or to Christ as judge. Everywhere the idea is kept before us of judgment, in its fullest, largest, most natural sense, as importing discrimination or discovery. Everywhere that discrimination or discovery is supposed to be exercised over the man himself, over his internal character, over his meaning and will. Everywhere the substitution of any mere external trial or examination for this, is rejected as inconsistent with the spirit and grandeur of Christ's revelation.

"Nowhere is this difference more remarkably brought out than in the words which we have translated, '*For we shall all appear before the Judgment-seat of Christ.*' When we hear these words without examining them, or their context, we are likely enough to say, 'Here is the old story of Minos and Rhadamanthus again; St. Paul knew that it was familiar to the ears of the Corinthians. He altered it, and adapted it to his Christian notions.' I am far indeed from denying that St. Paul was anxious to preserve the eternal truth which lay hid in those legends. He would have been most grieved if he had, in any one point, made the Greeks, to whom he proclaimed a faith, unbelievers. It was his duty to avail himself, as far as it was possible, even of the forms of language,—especially if they were not merely Greek, but human forms, appealing to the feelings and consciences of men in all countries,—which had been associated with old convictions. To this extent I am ready to admit that the word '*judgment-seat,*' or '*tribunal,*' was intended to remind the Corinthians both of the courts with which they were familiar in their own city, of the more solemn Areopagus, and of those which their imaginations had fashioned on the model of these for the pale spectres in the world below. But if this were his object, mark what the process of transformation is. In the first ten verses of this chapter, and several of the preceding, he has been working out the doctrine that man stands in a twofold relation; to an earthly visible tabernacle which is dissolving; to an invisible Lord. The dissolution of that perishable tabernacle will not, he says, involve homelessness, nakedness. There is a new clothing provided for him; a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Here there is much groaning; the body bears the signs of suffering and death. He longs to put on one which shall be free, living, immortal, '*that mortality may be swallowed up of life.*' He believes that God is working in him to produce such a renovation, and has given His Spirit as an earnest

of it. He is confident, therefore, and had rather be absent from the body which is making such demands upon him, that he might be present with the Lord of his spirit. '*For we walk,*' he says, '*by faith, not by sight.*' We do not see Him to whom we are united; we only believe Him and trust Him. And whether that vision at any time is strong or weak, whether we are crushed by the external tabernacle, or are rising above it, we are still ambitious to be well-pleasing to Him, '*For we must all*'—not appear—but '*BE MADE MANIFEST before the tribunal of Christ.*' A time must come when it will be clearly discovered to all men what their state was while they were pilgrims in this world; that they were in a spiritual relation just as much as they were in relation to those visible things of which their senses took cognizance. That which has been hidden will be made known; the darkness will be no longer able to quench the light which has been shining in the midst of it, and seeking to penetrate it; each man will be revealed as that which he actually is, that every one may receive the things done in the body according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad."—Essays, pp. 297-302.

With this singular passage, we must close our extracts from Mr. Maurice. But, copiously as we have drawn from his pages, we feel that the idea which we have been able to convey of his Essays is extremely imperfect. They can only be judged, indeed, after actual perusal. The effect which they produce upon the mind can scarcely be described. The reader arises in a frame of mind not unlike that of a man awaking from a long and overpowering sleep:—his past impressions half obliterated, half confused, and yet without a definite sense of having received any new ones in their place. Our extracts have been confined to a few of the Essays. But the same observation applies to them all. There is hardly one among the many subjects that they touch, which they do not tend in a greater or less degree to unsettle. The great facts and mysteries of the life of our Lord, although stated expressly enough in words, yet viewed in the light in which they are presented in these pages, appear to fade away before our eyes. The Resurrection dwindles down into a general notion of the Restoration of Humanity. The doctrine of Regeneration loses half of its practical significance. The Resurrection of the Flesh becomes in part a symbol, in part a fact. Even our sense of the great dogmas of the Trinity and Incarnation themselves, although we cannot fix upon any positive ground of our mental discomfort, yet, from the very elaborateness

with which it is attempted to reconcile them with those "deepest thoughts and feelings of human beings," which form the basis of Mr. Maurice's theology, becomes, we know not how, confused and unsatisfactory.

And to return to the topic with which we commenced, and in illustration of which we have referred to Mr. Maurice as one extreme, and to the ultra Catholic party as the other, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact on which we have already dwelt, that the author of these strange views claims, even while he puts them forward, to be, and to continue, a member of the Church of England; that he has subscribed, and continues to receive, all her formularies and creeds; that he still officiates as one of her ministers; and that, even since he has been deprived of his professorship, he enjoys a high and increasing reputation as a theological teacher. At the very height of the outcry against his orthodoxy, (which was raised by a party in the Church, but in which the authorities of the Church, as such, have taken no share,) a bishop of the Church of England in the Colonies, (Dr. Colenso, of Natal,) took occasion to express his admiration and regard, by dedicating to him a volume of sermons which he then published!

Let the facts which we have stated on the other side be remembered at the same time. In the very same Church within whose pale one party is thus frittering away the great mysteries of Christian faith, another, more silently, but yet with constant and laborious zeal, is labouring to build up a system which falls but little short of Catholic truth itself!

Meanwhile, what is the Church herself doing? Arch-deacon Wilberforce is permitted to re-construct the old Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice: but in the very same hour Mr. Maurice cuts away, equally uncensured, the very foundations of the faith in the sacrifice of the cross itself. The author of the "Companion to Holy Communion," indulges his devotion by offering the Eucharistic commemoration for the souls of departed brethren, while Mr. Maurice sets aside the belief in the eternal punishment of the wicked!

Both subscribe the letter of the same formularies. Which of the two interprets aright their spirit? Are we to expect a revival of the principles of the days of Hoadley and Balguy? Or are we to look forward with

hope to another Laudian era? Or, (what is of infinitely more solemn import,) can we conceive that when our Lord gave authority to a Church to "teach all truth," He ever meant that authority to remain a dead letter,—as it remains,—and as her history, from the very earliest origin, proves that it must ever remain—in the paralysed hands of the impotent Church of England?

---

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*The Trials of a Mind in its Progress to Catholicism: a Letter to his old Friends.* By L. Silliman Ives, L. L. D., late Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1854.

Of all the converts whom God has of late years brought into the Church, not one has occupied a more illustrious position, or made sacrifices more heroic, than Dr. Ives. The Church welcomed him as the first-fruits of the Protestant Episcopacy; as a champion of the truth in America his importance was felt to be even greater than it would have been here, where, for so long a time, the first talent of our universities has ranged itself on her side; and Catholics saw with veneration and joy those sacrifices to which we have become accustomed, surpassed in degree by one so remarkable in talent, and so high in rank; "who," as he tells us himself, "abandoned the position in which he had acted as a minister of the Protestant episcopal Church for more than thirty years, and as a Bishop of the same for more than twenty years; and sought, at his time of life, for admission, *as a mere layman*, into the 'Holy Catholic Church,' and with no prospect before him but simply peace of conscience, and the salvation of his soul." (Pref.) The process by which Dr. Ives arrived at so strong a conviction must be highly interesting; but there could be no doubt of the result to a mind in which deep humility was united with so firm a grasp of truth, as is shown in the following passage:



"To me it seemed utterly absurd that God should condescend to instruct man, because of his ignorance, how to save his soul, and then leave him to make a single surmise, allow him even to point his own finger in the way, or put in a word of direction how to follow it—utterly absurd and impious that God should be supposed to depend, in any degree, upon the helpless being whom He designed to rescue from his state of absolute helplessness—to borrow light in any way or measure from the dark mind, which, in pity, He condescended to illumine and to guide. I felt, therefore, that I might justly demand *exactness and infallibility* in the answer to my enquiry for God's *exact will*, as it was to be an answer *from God*; that this word to me should require no additional clearness from the dictates of my own perplexed reason,—that His truth should be rendered suspicious by no human alloy; the bright page of His revealed will be dimmed by no uncertainty of man's reason; that man's reason be employed only as the active receiver of the pure mind of God. Not only my own wants urged this claim, and the very nature as well as *promise* of God, who, in mercy, undertook to meet them, *justified* it, but also the reverence due to His perfections, and the gratitude due to this love would allow no other. I felt that He had invited me to come and learn of Him, promising rest to my soul; and that, had I come thus at His own invitation, for an answer less than *infallible*, it would have been an insult to His infinite wisdom and power; that had I expected less, when He condescended to supply, it would have been a return of base ingratitude and distrust for the marvellous provisions of His condescension and love.

"He said to the weary, 'Take my yoke, and learn of me, and ye shall find rest to your souls'—He said to those groping in doubt, '*I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.*'

"Knowing, therefore, that I 'walked in darkness,' I sought with all my heart this 'light of life,' knowing, too, that Satan himself was sometimes transformed to imitate this light, I was the more wary, and the more importunate and determined in my demand to know the truth, the *whole* truth, and nothing but the truth,—as it is in Jesus. Verily could I say with St. Paul, 'I count all things but loss for the *excellent knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord.*' But I felt that it must be *knowledge* and not *conjecture*; that the perfections of the great Lawgiver justified the expectation of *certainly*; that the state of man required it—the yearnings of his heart demanded it—the love of Christ pledged it—the provision in Christ offered it—the promise of Christ insured it. My demand, therefore, was for that perfect knowledge of God's will, upon which I could found a *certain and abiding faith.*"—p. 20.

This single-hearted determination to know and to follow the whole will of his Creator, embodied itself immediately

in the great question—"What is the revelation of God?" And this great question he resolves and examines in every light that can be brought to bear upon it from Scripture, the testimony of the Fathers, the evidence of history, and the light of reason;—all pointing the same way, all giving the same answer. To those who will reason out the question, there can be no escape from the inevitable conclusion; and Dr. Ives had no desire to escape it. In his brief, most touching self apology, alluding to the "seeming inconsistencies which arose from a too great effort on his part to remain a Protestant," he says, "To the mariner, inured to the peculiar hardships of the sea, it will be no cause of wonder that one tossed upon the bosom of its treacherous waves, now toiling amid conflicting elements, and then distracted and deceived by shifting mists, should, in making his way to the shore, describe a somewhat devious track." (Intro.) Let us follow up this most happy illustration, and observe that from the more dangerous mists that arise in a man's own heart, Dr. Ives was free, and therefore he reached the shore in safety. Standing, at length, upon the rock of certain truth, his exultation is as deep and generous as his convictions had been. Shipwrecked in earthly goods, he truly rejoices in his loss, counting all things of no value, compared with the "pearl of great price," which has been given to him.

II.—*A Catholic History of England*, by WILLIAM BERNARD Mc'CABE, Vol. III, 8vo. London, Newby, 1854.

We have been favoured with an early copy of the third and concluding volume of the *Catholic History of England*. We have already, on occasion of the publication of each of the earlier instalments of the work, expressed, in common with almost every one of our contemporaries, the most unreserved approval of the first and second volumes of this most interesting history. The value of these volumes, however, has been materially deteriorated by a vague apprehension which has gone abroad, that, owing to the new and engrossing occupations of the author, its completion had become problematical, or at least, must be regarded as likely to be indefinitely delayed. Although, therefore, the volume now upon our desk has not yet been regularly given to the public, we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of anticipating the formal day of publication, and announcing at the earliest possible oppor-

tunity, the completion of this important and long expected work.

The third volume of the Catholic History of England commences with the reign of Edward the Martyr, and comes down to the Norman Conquest; thus completing the history of the Anglo-Saxon period.

To a Catholic, we need hardly say, this is the most interesting period in the history of England. There is none which is so full of Catholic memories, none which so perfectly exhibits the working of the Catholic religion in its free and unrestrained activity. With the advent of the Norman princes, a spirit of Erastianism was introduced into the English Church, which had been unknown in its purer and earlier times. With subjugation to state control and to other domestic influences, came a jealousy of Rome on the part of the crown, and on the part of the Church a servile fear of the crown, which checked her natural tendency to cling confidently to her legitimate protector. The fatal despotism which breathes through the Statutes of Provisors and of *Præmunire*—the niggardly and ungracious spirit which animated the projectors of the law of mortmain and similar enactments—have left their trace in almost every detail of the History of the Norman Church of England.

In the Church of the Anglo-Saxon times it was very different. The same pure spirit which pervades all its social and municipal institutions is found even in greater perfection in the entire department of religion, and well deserves to be chronicled by one who can understand and appreciate it.

How admirably Mr. Mc'Cabe is qualified for this task, no Catholic of these realms need be informed by us. If he had undertaken the task for himself and from his own individual resources, there are few who could have hoped to execute it more worthily. But Mr. Mc'Cabe, as the readers of his former volumes will remember, has done better than this. He has told the story of those simple Catholic times, not in his own language, but in that of their own contemporary annalists; and he has done this so admirably, that, while his work retains the simple spirit of the old chroniclers in all its purity, its diction is yet so easy, and its method so judicious, as to produce all the effect of an original history. In this and every other

respect, the third volume well sustains the reputation of its predecessors.

We commend it heartily, therefore, to all Catholic students of English history. It treats the Anglo-Saxon period under a phase quite different from that which it is viewed by Lingard in his *Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*. Lingard describes the doctrine and doctrinal practice of the age; the Catholic History tells the story of its inner life. Each, therefore, may be regarded as the complement of the other. Both are indispensable to every English historical collection.

III.—*Short and Familiar Answers to the Objections most commonly raised against Religion.* From the French of the Abbé de Ségur. Translated with the Author's permission, by E. S. M. YOUNG. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son. 1854.

The appearance of a translation of the celebrated little work of the Abbé de Ségur calls for a special notice from us, not only on account of the enormous circulation which it has obtained in France—amounting to an almost incredible number of editions in a short space of time—but also on account of what appears to us to be the peculiar adaptability of this celebrated production to the condition and wants of the people of this country, from the remarkably terse and distinct manner in which popular objections are replied to, combined with a cheerfulness of diction which has rendered it so singularly charming to our neighbours. The *Univers* has lately said, that, since the publication of the “*Devout Life*,” by Saint Francis of Sales, no work so adapted for popular use has appeared. There still exists among a certain class of Catholic readers in England, a prejudice—a most unwise prejudice we venture to say—against works having what is called a French character. It is, we think, too much lost sight of, that the general readers of our own country, in our own times, are no more like the readers of half a century ago than the French mind of that epoch is like the French mind of to-day. What is certain, is, that works which require much time and careful study, are no more suited to the present general religious wants of England than of France. That the evil to be attacked is the same, the remedy to be applied is also the same in both countries, and that the darkness of ignorance and error is to be dispelled by the light of knowledge and truth. The way to do this most effectually

is the question which commands our serious consideration, and it would seem that what has been so singularly successful in neighbouring countries, should be at least equally successful here, where the want of light is still greater from the thickness of the darkness and the ignorance in regard to Catholic truth which surrounds us.

Two eminent apostles of the Catholic Faith—the celebrated Dominican, Father Lacordaire, and the Abbé de Ségur—have distinguished our age and their country, and rendered their names illustrious. The former by the brilliancy of his genius, and the splendour of his eloquence, enraptured vast crowds of his young countrymen during many years in the name and the cause of truth. His marvellous exposition of Catholic doctrine, his bold examination of the boldest pretensions of heresy and schism, and his comparisons of them with Catholic truth, poured out a flood of intellectual enlightenment upon France, the effects of which have been, and are now strikingly visible. This great Christian orator has appealed to the human intelligence to judge between an exposition of Catholic doctrine and the speculations of man, and has so well succeeded in elevating the doctrine, of which he is the apostle, so far above the finite systems of men, as to leave no room for doubt as to which is the divine and which is the human work. He has held up to ridicule the absurd charge of ignorance brought against us by ignorant men, by proving that “Catholic reason includes human reason, whilst human reason does not include Catholic reason: that Catholic reason is human reason, and something more, and as the greater outbalances the less, it is clear that human reason is in subordination to Catholic reason.” We have already called the attention of the readers of the Catholic Standard to the first volume of a translation of these celebrated Conferences, by Messrs. Richardson and Son. The Abbé de Ségur’s work is of a more popular character, professing to be *Short and Familiar Answers* to the most general Objections raised against Religion. We have perused it with great interest, having been long acquainted with it in French, and aware of its vast success; thousands upon thousands of those little volumes have been gratuitously distributed by the good and zealous Christians of neighbouring nations, and scattered like good seed from the hand of the sower. The translation

merits our highest eulogy ; it has evidently been a labour of love for the talented body who has undertaken it, and manifests, especially in the great difficulty of rendering short phrases, in the form of questions and answers, from French into our own tongue, a most skilful and real knowledge of the resources of both languages. We think, however, that had the style been a little less elevated, and more popular, it would have been more in accordance with the spirit of the original ; this may, perhaps, not be an evil in England. Our principal object in bringing this publication before the Catholics of this country is, to afford them the means of easily spreading the knowledge of our Holy Religion among those who are yet in ignorance of it. We wish to see this work in the hands of every Catholic who is able to distribute it, because it presents a mass of important matter in a most pleasing form, and is written so as to interest, and we hope, convince readers of all classes ; it has also been tried, and been singularly successful in France and Belgium. The volume before us is very superior in appearance to its French prototype, and is sold, we observe, at One Shilling and Sixpence. We could have wished that such enterprising publishers as Messrs. Richardson and Son had counted upon a larger sale, and had issued it at a Shilling. Cheap books alone can hope for extended circulation, and we feel assured that this work once known in England, will become as generally circulated as it is in France and Belgium. Nothing is more wanted here than the habit of distributing works of this kind ; we do not despair of seeing this most Christian practice, at least as general among Catholics as among schismatics ; upon this excellent practice depends in a great measure the work of correcting the errors which the heresy of past times has imposed upon our countrymen.

Messrs. Richardson and Son have done much for the cause of truth by the publication of the works of these two illustrious Frenchmen ; there should be no doubt about the success of such publications.

We have only space for a short extract.

“ XXIII.—THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS HAD ITS DAY.

“ *Ans.*—She has existed nearly nineteen hundred years, and nearly all that time the same thing has been said of her.

“ Every age, every impious being, every inventor of a sect or



heresy has thought to see that famous day when the Catholic Church should be buried never to rise again; they have each believed themselves destined to intone the 'De Profundis' of the papacy, of the Catholic priesthood, of the mass, and of all the ancient forms of belief of the Church.....and, nevertheless, THE DAY COMES NOT.

"Thus, in the first century of Christianity, one of the proconsuls of the emperor Trajan, wrote to him, 'Before long, thanks to persecution, *this sect* will be crushed, and we shall hear no more of this God crucified.'

"And Trajan is dead, and that God crucified reigns ever in the world!

"In the same manner, three centuries later, Julian, the apostate, boasted of preparing the grave of the Galilean, that is, of annihilating His religion and His Church.

"And Julian is dead, and the Galilean and his Church still live.

"And so, in the sixteenth century, Luther, that revolutionary monk, who made a religion out of pride and revolt, spoke of the papacy as of a superannuated institution about to perish for ever: 'Oh Pope!' said he, 'I was thy torment during my life-time, after my death, I shall prove thy destruction!'

"And yet, Luther is dead, and his Protestantism is melting away on all sides! And the papacy remains more living, more flourishing, more venerated than ever!

"In like manner, Voltaire, the enemy of Jesus Christ, who signed his letters, 'Voltaire, the mocker of Christ,' or, 'Let us crush the wretch,' (that is to say, Jesus Christ and His Church,) wrote to one of his friends, 'I am weary of hearing that twelve men were sufficient to found the Catholic religion; I want to show the world that one man was sufficient to destroy it.' 'Twenty years hence,' he wrote to another, 'the Galilean will be no more heard of!'

"And twenty years later, almost to the very day, Voltaire died in a paroxysm of despair, calling for a priest, whom his friends, the philosophers, would not suffer to approach him.

"But the Catholic Church lives still, traversing all ages, bearing down with resistless force all who attempt to overthrow her or impede her peaceful progress.

"The same fate will attend our grand modern systems, philosophical and social, which modestly assume to be reformations of the religion of Jesus Christ, substitutes for the Catholic Church.

"Less formidable than their predecessors, the unfortunate inventors of these systems are quite unconscious of their weakness! They imagine they have given something new to the world, whilst, in reality, it is nothing but a second-hand copy of the old theories of Voltaire, of Calvin, Luther, Arius, &c. &c. &c.

"Have they forgotten the Saviour's words to the first of the

Popes and the first bishops, 'Go, teach all nations, I will be with you all days, even to the consummation of the world?'

"Have they forgotten what He said to the chief of the apostles, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, AND THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAIL AGAINST IT?'

"What God has founded, can they hope to be able to destroy?

"No, the Catholic Church has not 'had her day;' her day will never come to an end, until the world shall come to an end.

"The Church fears nothing; she knows what is the divine principle of her strength, of her life. And she will consign her present adversaries to the tomb, more surely and more speedily than any one of her predecessors."

IV.—*Thoughts and Affections on the Passion of Jesus Christ, for Every Day in the Year*; drawn from the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church. Translated from the Italian, by the Rev. FATHER IGNATIUS of S. Paul, Passionist. Vol II. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son. 1854.

Those Catholics who have purchased the first volume of this beautiful work, will not be sorry to have the second; and should any of our readers not have seen it, we can recommend it to them with confidence. It is this second volume which contains the *Meditations on the Passion*, properly so called, from the condemnation of our Blessed Saviour, to the removal of His Sacred Body from the Cross; and it is appropriately published at this solemn season of the Passion, for which it will be found a valuable companion. The *Meditations* are assigned to the Days of the Year; but they may be used in any other way, according to the convenience and leisure of the devout reader.

V.—*The Imitation of St. Joseph*, translated from the French, under the superintendence of the Redemptorist Fathers. Published with the approbation of His Grace the Most Rev. DR. CULLEN, Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin: Duffy, 1854.

Those Catholics who already entertain a special devotion to St. Joseph, will be delighted with this little work, and others may be led by it to follow the advice of St. Teresa, when she says, "Would that I could persuade all men to be devout to this glorious saint, by reason of the great experience I have had of the blessings he obtains from God. I have never known any one who was truly devoted to him, who performed particular devotions to his honour, that did not advance more in virtue, for he assists

in a special manner those souls who recommend themselves to him." The little work we are now recommending consists of thirty-one short meditations on the life of this saint; in these the virtues of his hidden life are studied, and enforced with great power and sweetness, and it will be understood from the nature of the subject, that the instructions are both practical and of general application; these are followed by special devotions in his honour, which are very good, and sufficiently short.

VI.—*Stumpingford: a Tale of the Protestant Alliance, Jonah and La Salette.* London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son. 1854.

A cleverly written Tale, full of interest and instruction, and calculated to be useful to those whom it more immediately concerns.

VII.—*An Abridgment of the Catechisme de Perseverance.* Translated from the French, by LUCY WARD. London: Dolman, 1854.

We cannot but consider as an acquisition to our English Catholic literature, a work which is a great and standard manual of instruction in France. It contains a mass of information; in fact, a complete history of religion from the beginning of the world, with a sketch of the chief characteristics, and most eminent men of each period; concluded by a complete examination and explanation of the ceremonies of the Christian Church. Such information is given on natural philosophy as might throw light upon the main subject; and the whole is arranged with the methodical precision for which French works are remarkable. If we say that we object to the catechetical form of conveying information upon such an extensive scale as this is, that to us the Catechism seems to be properly a more enlarged *creed*; that is to say, a formula of words, condensing doctrines; and that it breaks up, and formalizes more general instruction, rendering it less interesting in itself, and less improving to the mind in the process of acquisition; if, as we said before, we should give this opinion, we but state our own idea upon the subject. Many arguments are advanced on the other side, which we leave to the attention of our readers. There can be no doubt that the *Catechisme de Perseverance* is a work of sterling value, and that Miss Lucy Ward has most judiciously abridged, and freely and sensibly translated it.

VIII.—*The Tudor Queen, Mary.* Being an Abridged History of the Events and Personages connected with her Reign. By STEPHEN WELLS. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son. 1854.

The author of this "synopsis" modestly disclaims any pretension to "have been enabled either to add anything, or to throw fresh light upon any matter connected with the reign of" Mary. He is content with the humble credit of a "condenser of facts provided by historians," whose reputation is unquestioned. His sources are Lingard, Miss Strickland, and the recent History of England by the very Rev. President of Sedgley Park, Canon Flanagan. Those who look for a thorough-going defence of those acts of Mary's reign that have been most called in question, will be disappointed in Mr. Wells's little work. He claims for her no more allowance than Protestant writers (Burnet for instance) have conceded: that she was a model of every private virtue—that the persecuting acts of her reign have been grossly exaggerated; that the Protestant Elizabeth's religious severities were of a tenfold more aggravated and less excusable kind; that her husband the Spanish Philip was probably the chief instigator of the severities of Mary's reign; that those severities were not enacted with the approval of the chief authority of the Church, but against it; and lastly, that the Catholic religion is in no way responsible for what was so done amiss. We know there are those who think, that at this time of day a somewhat higher ground might, and should be taken, but even this, perhaps, ultramoderate view is quite enough materially to mitigate the stigma vulgarly attached to one of our (too few) good monarchs. Mr. Wells concludes his narrative with an exhortation to us to "be thankful that Providence has cast our lot under the benign destiny of a Queen, in whose bright example we see a reflection of every virtue and duty, which can add lustre to the character of a Christian, a female, and a sovereign."

IX.—*Is there a Church, and What is it?* Two Lectures, by WILLIAM HENRY ANDERDON. LECTURE I. There is such a thing as a Church upon earth. LECTURE II. It is not a Protestant body. London: Burns and Lambert, and Travis, Liverpool.

Our readers may not all be aware that Mr. Anderdon is the convert who gave up one of the richest livings in Leicester, and leaving the people who regarded him with an especial admiration, embraced the Catholic faith, of which

he will shortly return as Priest to the same mission. Great indeed are the results we may expect, not only from his piety, but from his great ability. We have seldom met with such effective discourses as those we are noticing. The logic is as pointed as it is sound, the argument comprehensive and clear, without once becoming tedious, the style easy, popular, and forcible. We need not follow the line of argument adopted, but we can say that many points are taken with such originality and vigour, as may be serviceable even to our Catholic readers, if not for themselves, at least as bright and keen weapons wherewith to furnish the controversial armoury, which now-a-days, heaven help us! most of us are obliged to keep in readiness. Many of the illustrations are particularly happy. We give the following as an instance:—

“Protestantism in general, Anglicanism in particular, may contain individuals to be respected, to be cared for, as the Trojan horse contained real live warriors. But the thing itself, the system, is a wooden horse after all, caparison it and curry it as you will. It was knocked together by human hands at the first, and it requires to be wheeled along by them at every move. Effective as an engine of state craft, obeying that strong steady impulse, like any other machine, but as a religion stiff and lifeless, I could as soon worship a stock or a stone, as invest it with any feeling of reverence. And yet you are probably angry with me because I cannot regard this same manifest wooden horse as a winged Pegasus.”

X.—*A Critical and Historical Review of Fox's Book of Martyrs.*  
By WILLIAM E. ANDREWS. London: Andrews, 1853.

‘We see with great satisfaction a new edition of this admirable controversial work so greatly valued by Dr. Milner, and which has done so much good service in the Catholic cause. It contains a mass of facts, refuting the calumnies of that period, and specially those contained in that great staple of Protestant argument, Fox's Book of Martyrs; and is a work so invaluable as a book of reference, and for the quantity of information, which it contains, that no Catholic library should be without it.

## CONTENTS OF No. LXXII.

---

ART.		PAGE
I.—1.	Denkschrift des Episcopates der oberrheinischen Kirchenprovinz, Bezug auf die Königlich Württembergische, Grossherzoglich-Badische, Grossherzoglich Hessische und Herzoglich Nassauische allerhöchste Entschliessung vom 5 März 1853 in Betreff der Denkschrift des Episcopates vom März, 1851. Zweyte Auflage. 1853. [Memorial of the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of the Upper Rhine, in reference to the resolutions of the 5th of March, 1853, which were taken by the respective governments of the King of Wurtemberg, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and the Duke of Nassau in regard to the Episcopal Memorial of March, 1851. Second Edition. Freyburg in Breisgau, 1853.]	
2.	Das Recht der Kirche im Badischen Kirchenstreit. [The Rights of the Church in the Ecclesiastical Contest in Baden.] Mayence, 1853.	
3.	Deutsche Volks-Halle. November and December. 1853. - - - - -	269
II.—1.	Venerabilis Bedæ Opera Historica. Ad Fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum recensuit Josephus Stephenson. Londini: 1838.	
2.	Bedæ Opera Omnia. By the Rev. J. A. Giles, D. C. C., late Fellow of C. C. C., Oxford. Whittaker and Co. 1843.	
3.	Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. Cura Roberti Hussey, B. D. Hist. Ecclesiast. Prof. 1846.	
4.	Bede's Ecclesiastical History. Bohn's Antiquarian Library. 1847. - - - - -	290



# CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE
III.—1. Oxford University Commission. Report of her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford, together with the Evidence and an Appendix. 1852.	
2. The Oxford Reform Bill. 1854. - - -	314
IV.—1. Pastoral Letter. By HENRY, LORD BISHOP OF EXETER. Murray. 1846.	
2. Charge by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Hatchard and Son. 1853.	
3. Memorial of the Churchwardens of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, to the Lord Bishop, with His Lordship's decision upon it. C. Westerton. 1854.	
4. The Achill Herald. Dublin. 1853-4.	
5. Theological Essays. By PROFESSOR MAURICE. J. W. Parker. 1853.	
6. Cautions for the Times. J. W. Parker. 1853.	
7. Archdeacon Wilberforce's Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, shown to be inconsistent alike with Reason, with Scripture, and with the Church, and his unsound views of the Holy Trinity exposed. By THEOPHILUS SECUNDUS. Longman and Co. 1854.	
8. The Fate of Christendom. By HENRY DRUMMOND. T. Bosworth. 1854.	
9. The Revival of the French Emperors, anticipated from the necessity of Prophecy. By the late Rev. GEORGE STANLEY FABER. T. Bosworth. 1854.	
10. Remains of the late Edward Copplestone. By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. J. W. Parker. 1854. - - -	351
V.—1. Elements of Logic, &c. By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. Eighth Edition, Revised. London: B. Fellowes.	
2. Discussions on Philosophy, &c. By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart. London: Longman.	
3. The Works of Thomas Reid, D. D., &c. Collected by Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart.	

# CONTENTS.

ART.		PAGE
	4. A System of Logic, &c. By JOHN STUART MILL. Third Edition. London: Parker.	- - - 419
VI.—1.	Die Gesellschaft Jesu, ihr Zweck, ihre Satzungen, Geschichte, Aufgabe und Stellung in der Gegen- wart. Von F. J. BUSS. In Zwei Abtheilungen. Mainz: Kunze, 1853.	
	2. Die Jesuiten Des Ordens Geschichte, religiöse und wissenschaftliche Leistungen. Von J. A. M. BRUHL- Mainz: Wirth John. 1853.	
	3. Leben des Heiligen Ignatius Von Loyola. Von GENELLI. Innsbruck. 1853.	
	4. Geschichte des Pontificats Clemens XIV. nach une- dirten Staats schriften aus dem geheimen Archive des Vaticans. Von Professor Dr. AUGUSTIN THEINER, Priester des Oratoriums, Consultor der heiligen Congregation des Index u. s. w. Firmin Didot, Gebrüder, Leipsig und Paris, 1853.	
	5. Clemens XIV. und die Jesuiten nach dem Werke "Geschichte des Pontificats XIV. Von A. Theiner." Herausgegeben, Von JOSEF BURKHARD LEA. Luzern, Kaisersche Buchandlung, 1853.	
	6. Der Protestantismus als politisches Princip Von Pro- fessor Dr. F. J. STAHL. Berlin. Schultze, 1853.	
	7. Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus ou Notice Bibliographique de tous les Ouvrages publiés par les Membres de la Compagnie de Jésus depuis la fondation de l'Ordre jusqu'à nos jours, et des apologies des controverses des critiques litté- raires suscités à leur sujet. Par les R. R. PERES, AUGUSTIN et ALOYS de BACKER, de la même Com- pagnie. 1ère Serie. 1. vol. 8vo. Paris, 1846.	
	8. Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus. Par CRETINEAU JOLY. 6 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1846.	- - - 451
VII.—1.	History of Oliver Cromwell and the English Common- wealth, from the Execution of Charles the First to the Death of Cromwell. By M. GUIZOT. Trans- lated by ANDREW R. SCORLE. 2 vols. 8vo. Lon- don: Bentley, 1854.	
	2. History of the English Revolution of 1640, from the Accession of Charles I. to his Death. By F. GUI- ZOT. Translated by WILLIAM WAYLETT, Esq. Lon- don: Bogue, 1848.	- - - - - 494